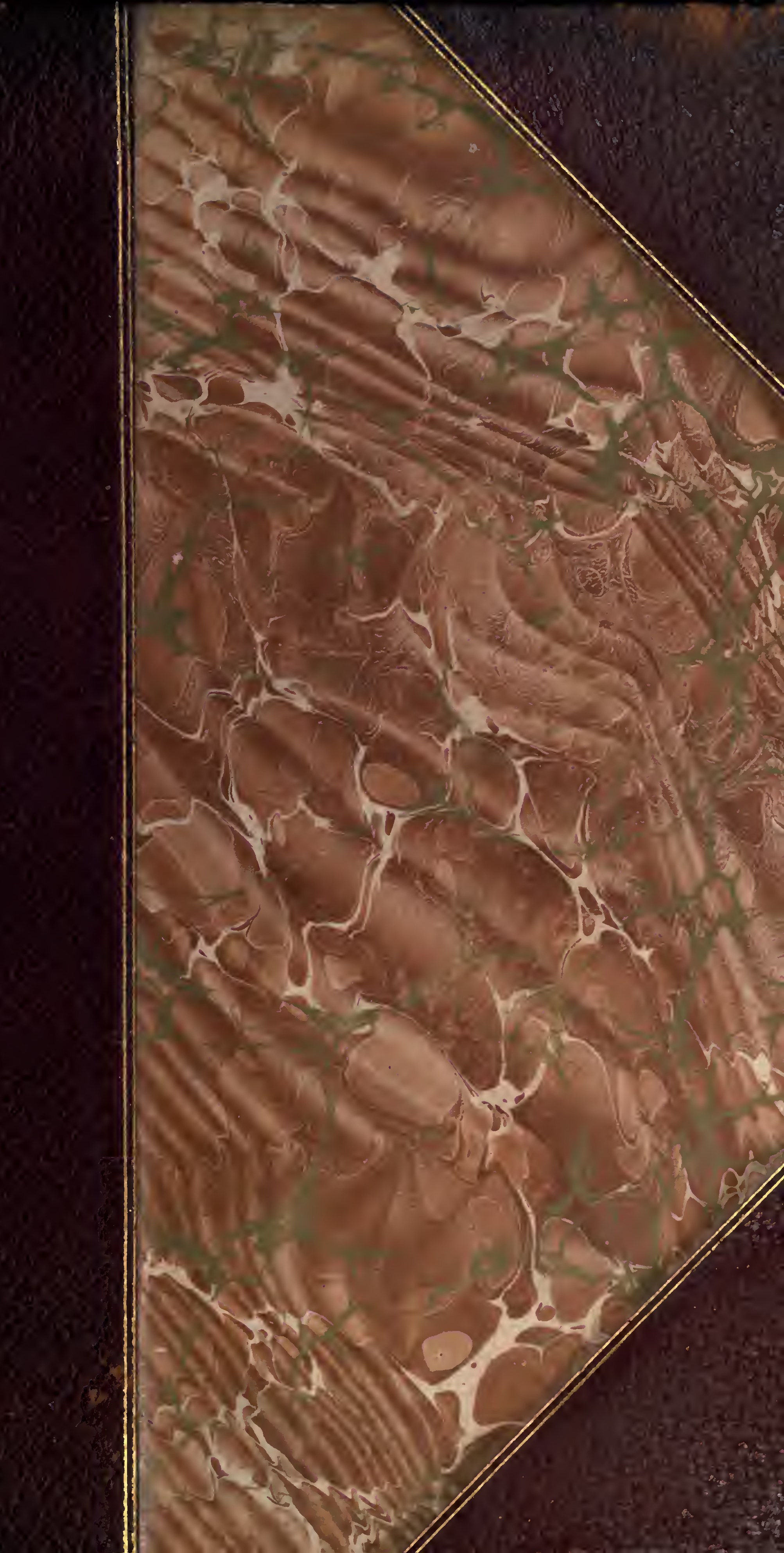
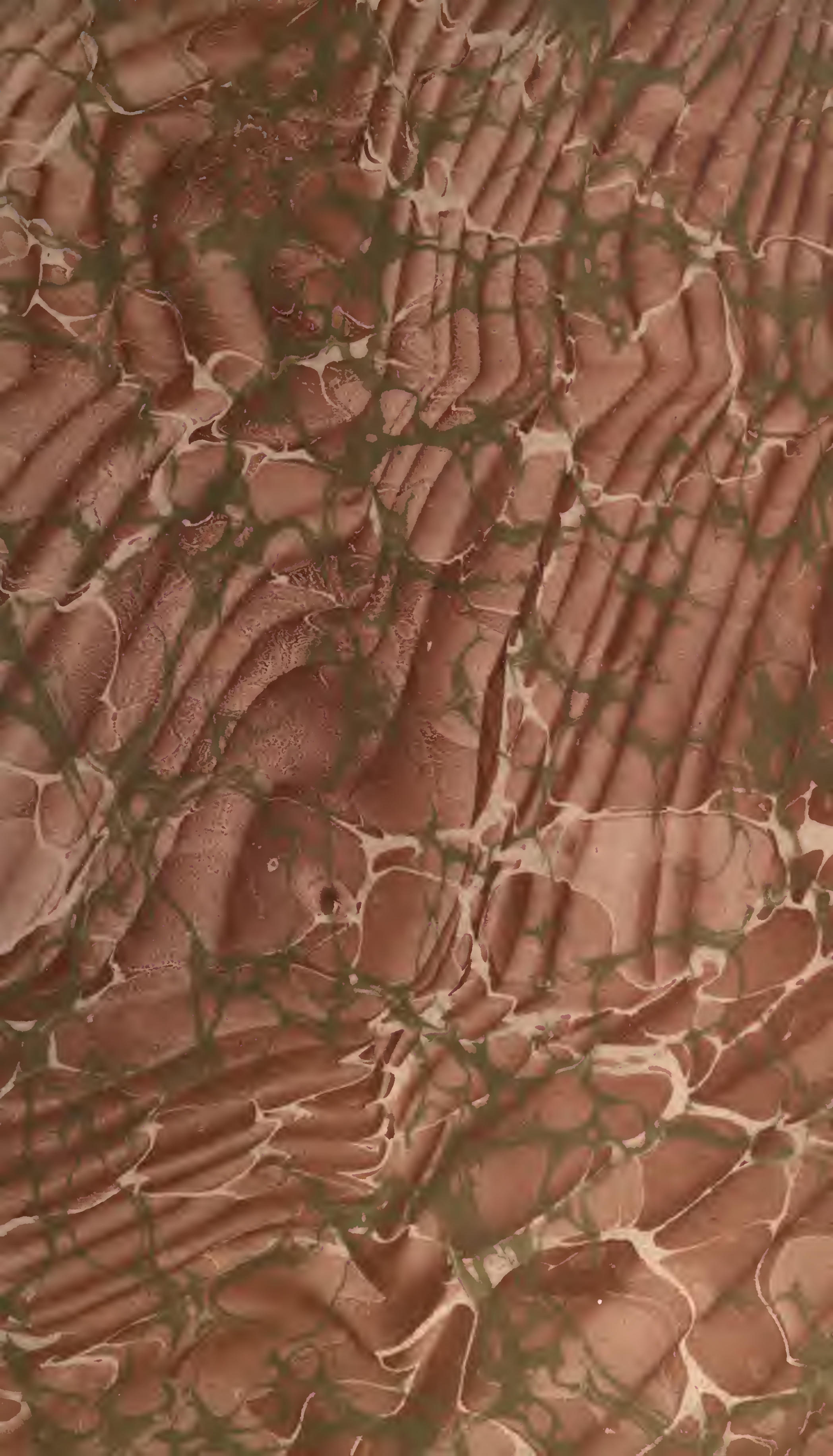
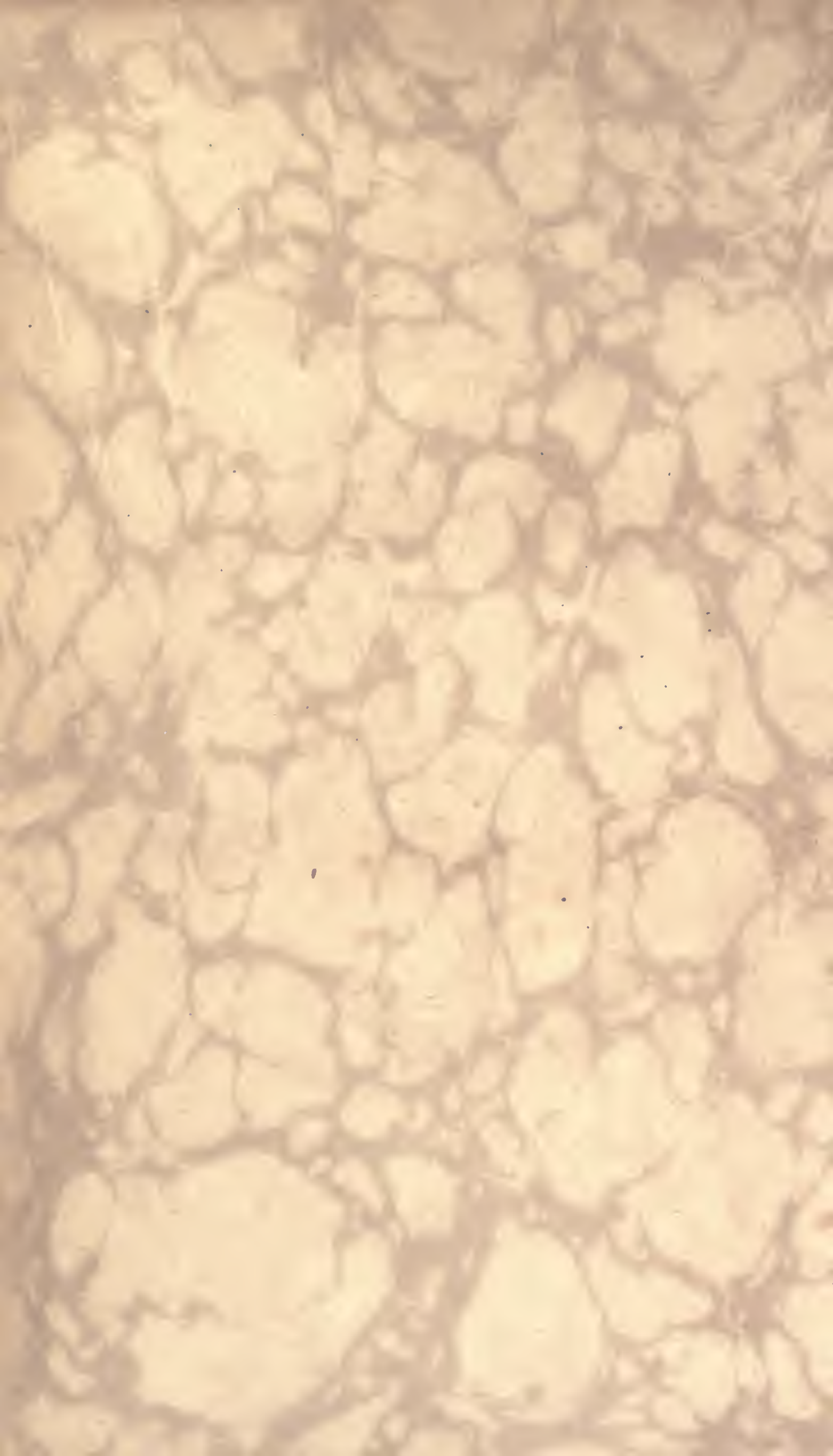












HISTORY OF ART IN PHŒNICIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

VOL. II.



HISTORY OF

Art in Phœnicia

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

FROM THE FRENCH

OF

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AND

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ILLUSTRATED WITH SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT AND TEN STEEL AND COLOURED PLATES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PHŒNICIAN SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER II.

CYPRUS AND CYPRIOT SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

CHAPTER VI.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATES.

TAIL-PIECES.

HISTORY OF ART IN PHŒNICIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.



HISTORY OF ART IN PHŒNICIA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

CHAPTER I.

PHŒNICIAN SCULPTURE.

§ 1.—*Materials and Processes.*

THE Phœnicians were the neighbours and commercial agents, the pupils and imitators, of peoples who had looked much at nature, of peoples who had each in their own way given a free and original rendering of living form; clever with their hands, active in mind and thoroughly awake, they could hardly fail to make full use of such examples and to imitate the figures of men and animals. And we know they made bas-reliefs, statues and statuettes of every size and substance, everything, in fact, that would sell, whether on native or foreign markets. They carved the figures of their gods, and in order to perpetuate the memory of their piety, they figured themselves in adoring attitudes before them. Finally, when the races with whom they trafficked came within the influence of the gorgeous and sensual rites celebrated by the Syrian navigators on all the shores of the Mediterranean, Tyre, Sidon, and their colonies set up a trade in the export of idols, and there arose a prolific Phœnician school of Sculpture, which must have had a certain influence over the development of plastic art among the Greeks and Italiots. We are therefore bound to determine its character and value, and that can only be

done after a careful study of its remains, which are in even worse condition than those of Phœnician architecture.

Phœnicia had no marble. She had nothing but a calcareous tufa, rather less close and fine in the grain than that of Cyprus. As a rule it was full of small holes and shells; sculptors did their best to find blocks in which these defects did not occur and sometimes they succeeded in hitting upon one which lent itself fairly well to the chisel; but they seem to have been thoroughly alive to the shortcomings of their native stone and to have tried to import a better material. Now and then they made use of the volcanic rocks to be met with in the district about Saffita, to the north of Phœnicia. The Louvre possesses some fragments of an anthropoid sarcophagus in brown lava.[1] The Sarepta torso is cut from a greyish pink lava, which must have come from the same region (Vol. I. Fig. 26). Finally, they seem to have brought from Egypt blocks of those fine hard stones which are so abundant in the Nile valley; to this conclusion we are led partly by the lion in black granite in the Louvre, which seems to have been sculptured on the soil of Phœnicia (Vol. I. Fig. 34). As for marble, it was not till the sixth century that the Phœnicians began to import it from Greece; after they had once begun they made frequent use of it.[2]

In view of her close relations with Egypt and Chaldæa, we must suppose that Phœnicia understood how to make and utilize bronze from the very beginning of her career. Certain bronzes which date from the very birth of metallurgy are Phœnician in their origin, as we have every reason to believe. A figure found near Tortosa by M. Peretié and now in the Louvre, is one of these (Fig. 1).[3] It represents a beardless warrior standing in an attitude of defence, his head surmounted by a very tall funnel-shaped helmet with two rings behind it to which, as well as to a pair of holes in the ears, an ornament has been fixed. He is clothed in a short tunic gathered into a broad belt about the waist. The eyeballs are now empty. The lance and buckler which he held respectively in his right hand and on his left arm have disappeared. To his feet, which are bare, still hang the sullage pieces; their presence may be taken as evidence of the extreme

[1] RENAN, *Mission*, pp. 45-46, and plate vi.

[2] See, Vol. I. § 3.

[3] DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*; letterpress to plate xxi.

age of the statuette. In later times, when the use of the file was better understood, they would have been removed after the metal was taken from the mould. The whole character of the work is in thorough accord with the suggestion of inexperience conveyed by their presence.

Some bronzes of an execution already more advanced belong still to the ancient period, to the time before Phœnicia began to



FIG. 1.—Bronze statuette. Louvre. Height 8⅝ inches.

look elsewhere than to the East for inspiration. We may name as an instance the statuette of a player upon the lyre in M. Peretié's collection, which has been photographed by M. Clermont Ganneau (Fig. 2). Finally, we may refer to the metal ornament already figured (Vol. I. Fig 26), which represents a bust of

Astarte ; it is a pasticcio upon an Egyptian type, but its execution is extremely skilful ; we should be willing to ascribe this last-named work to the time of the latter Achæmenids or the Ptolemies. Our museums are full of Phœnician bronzes of the Seleucid period ; M. Louis de Clercq possesses the richest series yet formed ; but their study belongs rather to the history of Greek sculpture. As for the minute figures of men and animals carved in the precious metals by the artisans of Tyre and Sidon, it will be time to talk of them when we come to treat Phœnician jewelry and goldsmiths' work.

The Phœnicians do not seem to have used clay to make bricks, but they employed it readily enough for jars and vases of every kind. They even made anthropoid sarcophagi of earthenware,[1]



FIG. 2.—Bronze statuette. Height 18 inches. In M. Peretié's collection.

moulding them in two very large pieces. Of more interest, however, than such objects as these, are the numerous little terra-cotta figures, in which they represented both themselves and their gods.

"These statuettes are modelled from the same clay, whether they come from the north of Phœnicia or the south ; it is of a ferruginous nature, and nearer red than yellow in tint. The clay is prepared with such care that it is difficult to distinguish it from the plastic earths employed in other countries, notably in Greece and the islands off the coast of Asia Minor. The older works are slightly redder in colour than the later. They often show glassy spangles and are apt to split. All these figures betray the at least

[1] See *ante*, pp. 189-191, Vol. I. and Fig. 130.

partial use of the mould; and the castings are hollow, showing that the technics of the matter were sufficiently advanced."[1]

Some of these objects are of no slight complexity, such as the groups representing war and travelling chariots (Vol. I. Fig. 145). Parts of these are modelled and mounted by hand, the voids being taken out with a cutting instrument; but the small human figures introduced are squeezed in a mould.[2]

Like Assyria before her and Greece in after times, Phœnicia painted her terra-cottas; the colours, which were brilliant at the moment of discovery, are still visible in many cases. Sometimes the whole figure is covered with a tint like that used by the Egyptians to express a manly complexion, the hair and eyebrows being black.[3] Details of costume are sometimes indicated in pink, green and blue; these colours are generally laid upon a yellowish under-painting.[4]

And as Phœnicia took the notion of these painted terra-cotta figures from Mesopotamia, so she borrowed from Egypt the secret of another manufacture; she made great numbers of statuettes of the material called *Egyptian faïence*, a sandy frit covered with a white, blue, or green enamel.[5] It is sometimes far from easy to discriminate between Phœnician objects of this kind and those of Egyptian manufacture; but the distinction can generally be made if we look carefully into certain details, and consider the *provenance* of any object that comes under notice. The Phœnicians certainly imported many things from the Nile valley, partly for their own use, partly for re-exportation. But it is clear that it paid them better to use or export their own productions; the latter were cheaper, at least by the cost of carriage from Egypt, and they were more roughly made. In such objects of glazed earthenware as we have good reason to ascribe to the Phœnicians, the enamel is far less brilliant and solid than on similar things found in Egyptian tombs; it is also thinner, and, on the whole, Phœnician statuettes of this glazed *faïence* have a look of being got up to sell; very few are made with thorough care. There is another characteristic by which they can be recognized: their types are nearly always composite. They show elements borrowed from Egypt side by side with those taken from other sources; the

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 64.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 59.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 71, 79, 88.
[5] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. pp. 369-375.

hieroglyphs are often nonsense, introduced merely for the sake of ornament. In fact, like so many other creations of Phœnicia, they bear numerous signs of that eclecticism which took its profit where it found it, of that perpetual combination and adaptation which stood to the Phœnicians in the place of high art, and brought them wealth rather than glory.

In Fig. 3 we reproduce a statuette of glazed earthenware, which may be surely ascribed to Phœnicia. It is a small group, hardly more than four inches high, covered with a blue enamel. It is rather flat, but the modelling is careful both front and back. It was found in Cyprus. It represents the god Bes seated on the shoulders of a woman, who holds him by his two feet. The



Fig. 3.—Group in glazed earthenware. Louvre. Height $4\frac{3}{10}$ inches.

woman stands upon a small lotus-flower capital. Bes has the same features as in Egypt,[1] but the female beneath him does not belong to the Egyptian pantheon. By her short wide proportions and frank nudity, she belongs rather to the strange class of female divinities which we encountered in Babylonia and Susiana.[2] In this case we are led to ascribe the work to Phœnicia, less on account of any shortcomings in its execution than because of this mixture of two foreign types.

Statuettes in this glazed earthenware are not, however, very numerous in our Phœnician collections. Phœnicia seems rather

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Figs. 280, 281, 294.
[2] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Fig. 16.

to have given her attention to those amulets, necklaces, and other personal ornaments which have been found in every country to which her traders penetrated (Vol. I. Figs. 178, 182, and Fig. 4).

The Phœnicians were fond of carving ivory. We have already had occasion to ask whether many of the ivories found in the Assyrian palaces may not have been of Phœnician origin, and to acknowledge that in not a few instances the answer would have to be Yes.[1] The Phœnician tombs of Syria, Cyprus, and Sardinia, have yielded numerous fragments of ivory, and farther on we shall describe the pieces of a perfume-box found in a tomb at Sidon ; but of all ivories found in Phœnicia, the finest is the small statuette of a woman, without a head, which is now in the Louvre (Fig. 5).[2] The hands support the two breasts, a gesture which is repeated in so many Phœnician and Cypriot figures. As a rule the goddess thus represented is entirely nude, while here she is draped in a robe falling to the ground in symmetrical folds. She

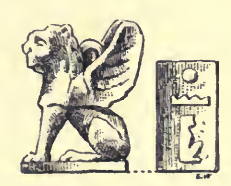


FIG. 4.—Amulet in glazed faïence. Sardinia. From Crespi.

wears double sleeves, a tight pair coming down to the wrists, and a wider pair belonging to the outer robe. The two ends of a kind of rope girdle hang down in front. Few figures show so completely the details of at least one variety of Phœnician costume. The general shape of the statuette should also be noticed. It is that of a column, or, as the Greeks would call it, a *xoanon*. Such figures may have given them a model for their first attempts to provide their deities with bodies.

From the enumeration we have now brought to an end, our readers will understand what materials were at the command of the Phœnician sculptor. By depriving him of marble, nature did him an evil turn to begin with ; but he soon learnt where to find it, and if he had been fired by noble desires he would not have

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. pp. 119-125, Figs. 57-59.

[2] Some small fragments of the head may be seen in the same case as the statuette.

waited till the sixth, perhaps even the fifth, century, before importing it from the islands of the Ægæan Sea. He only did that when the ever-growing splendour of Greek art began to

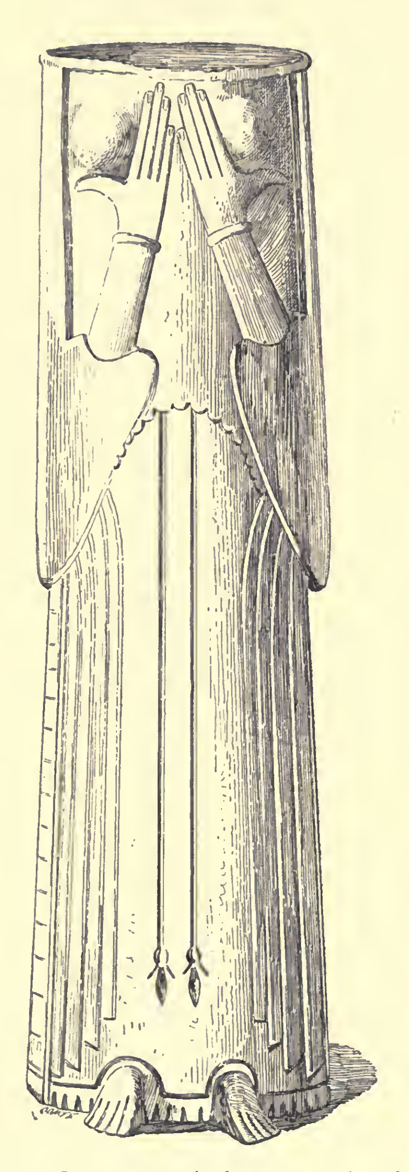


FIG. 5.—Ivory statuette in the Louvre. Actual size.

dazzle him, and to excite him to higher ambitions; until then he was content with the rocks, some soft, some hard, but all of mediocre quality and poor appearance, which his native country

afforded. At the same time he followed those oriental artists, whose pupil he was, in making use, for his smaller figures, of bronze and other metals, of painted and enamelled *faïence*, of ivory, and no doubt, of wood. All these materials behave kindly enough under the tool, and take any noble and expressive form the artist has mind to conceive; nothing more is required by real plastic genius, when it desires to give proof of its nature, vigour, and originality, when it feels impelled to render life in its various aspects with a simple and loyal sincerity. Were the Phœnicians governed by any such feelings? We can only answer that question after passing such monuments in review as from their place of discovery or internal evidence seem to be surely Phœnician. The number of such things is small enough; so that we shall not hesitate to reproduce nearly every statue or relief in stone which has come from the East into those public and private museums of Europe which are open to us. As for the terra-cotta statuettes, of them we must make a careful selection; we shall try to include every thing of special interest, and even to reproduce each type in all its principal varieties.

§ 2.—*Figures of Deities.*

First of all we must put aside a certain number of monuments which appear to be of foreign origin, though found on the soil of Phœnicia. Some of these are sculptures imported from Egypt, like the sarcophagus of Esmounazar and a fragment of green basalt in which both inscription and material are Egyptian. It bears upon it a reference to some "temple of the goddess Bubastis, goddess of life in the two regions."[1] We may guess that artists were even brought from the Nile valley to work in Syria. This we may gather from a relief found at Byblos (Fig. 6). It is sculptured on a huge block of Phœnician limestone, but its subject, its style, and its hieroglyphs betray the hand of a Memphite or rather, perhaps, of a Saite artist. Only a part of the group now remains, but the rest may be easily divined. A Pharaoh, recognizable as such from the asp on his forehead, receives the embrace of a goddess crowned with that solar

[1] RENAN, *Mission*, p. 56.

disk between a pair of cow horns which was a common attribute of Isis or Hathor. This is a motive of which Egyptian art never grew weary.[1] High up on the slab is figured, in excellent hieroglyphs, a legend of which only the last word, "eternally," is now visible. This is the usual conclusion of these dedicatory inscriptions, but in this case the letters are of such a size that even granting the inscription to have been as short as possible, the slab on which it appears must have formed part of the ornament of some considerable building, decorated throughout by an Egyptian hand.[2] Perhaps we have in this slab a fragment from the Giblite temple of Isis, whose existence is attested by the author of that treatise *On Isis and Osiris* in which the fables told

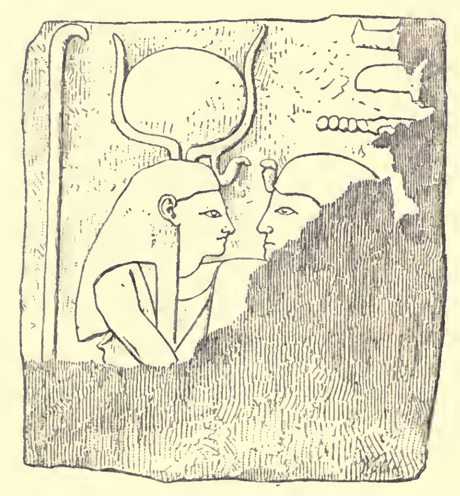


FIG. 6.—Fragmentary relief. Louvre. Height 22 inches.

by the priests to all those who visited the sanctuary are repeated at length.[3]

Egypt is present all over Phœnicia, sometimes in objects bought in the Nile Valley, sometimes in sculptures executed on the spot by Egyptians in the employment of the princes of Byblos or Sidon; so that there is nothing strange in the fact that many things attributable to Phœnician artists bear strong traces of Egyptian influence. In some cases we may well hesitate before deciding whether the Delta or the Syrian coast is to be credited

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 255.
[2] RENAN, *Mission*, pp. 179-180.
[3] PLUTARCH, *On Isis and Osiris*, xv. and xvi.

with a work; an instance in point is given by the bronze reproduced in Fig. 26 of our first volume. In that we are inclined to see a Phœnician pasticcio rather than an original by some Memphite metal-worker, because in some of the details, especially the head-dress, one can perceive changes from the stereotyped forms of Egypt; the horns about the disk do not show quite the same lines as those on authentic images of Isis-Hathor.[1] They are heavier and more directly copied from the crescent moon.

In other monuments betraying a strong Egyptian influence, a Phœnician origin is attested, not, as in this bronze, by slight changes of treatment, but by the mixture of elements taken from Egypt with motives borrowed elsewhere.

Look, for instance, at the stele of Jehaw-Melek (Vol. I. Fig. 23); the local goddess, the "mistress of Gebal," is there represented with the features and sceptre of an Isis, while the king who does homage to her wears the costume and tiara of a Persian prince.

Finally, there are some monuments in which the sculptor seems rather to have been inspired by an Assyrian model. A stele found at *Nahr Abrach*, near Amrit, that is to say in the continental domain of the Arvadites, conveys this

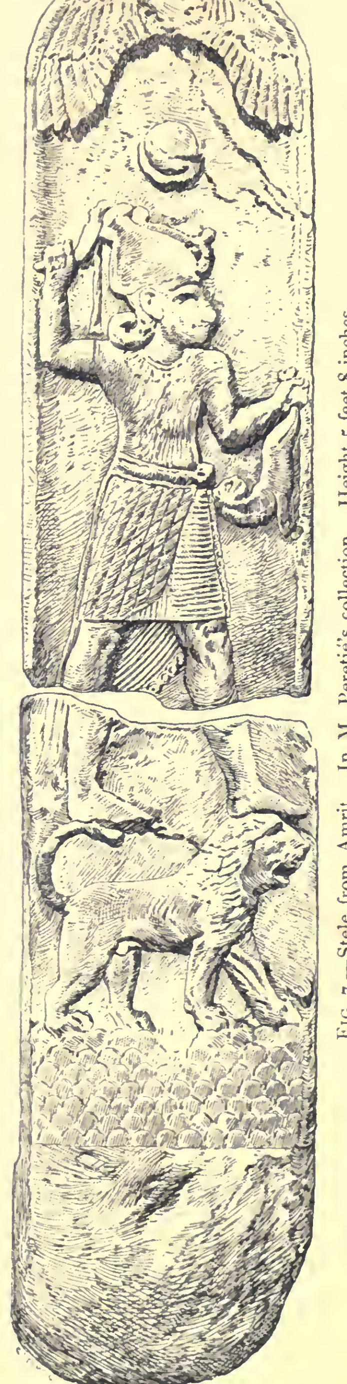


FIG. 7.—Stele from Amrit. In M. Peretié's collection. Height 5 feet 8 inches.

[1] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 40, and Vol. II. Fig. 316, and *ante*, Fig. 6.

impression.[1] It is broken in two pieces. The lower part of one piece is covered by mountains represented after the same convention as in the Ninevite reliefs. Over these mountains marches a lion, and upon the lion stands an individual who can be nothing less than a god, seeing what trouble the sculptor has been at to symbolize his elevation above the rest of humanity. Now it is in the great reliefs at *Bavian* and *Malthai*, and on many Chaldæan and Assyrian cylinders, that we first encounter deities upon animals such as the dog, the winged bull, the horse and the lion.[2] Our readers will remember that it was in Assyria that we met those divinities who seem to play with animals, and especially with those very animals which are generally selected as the symbols of irresistible force. On a funerary slab of bronze we saw a goddess holding a pair of serpents by their necks;[3] upon a cylinder known to us only by the impression it has left on a clay tablet, we find two winged genii holding out the suspended bodies of a pair of eagles by their legs.[4] Upon the stele of Amrit it is a lion's whelp that the god holds up by the hind feet, a motive identical with that which occurs so often in the great reliefs of the Assyrian palaces (Fig. 8).[5] Finally we can produce from the Assyrian reliefs a model for the weapon brandished in the right hand of this god of Amrit; the Khorsabad genius in our Fig. 8 wields just such an arm.

On the other hand, there are details in this same relief which point unmistakably to Egypt. The gesture of the god is identical with that of Pharaoh when he has a conquered enemy at his feet.[6] His asp-crowned helmet is more like the pschent than the Assyrian tiara, while his short robe recalls the dress of an Egyptian rather than the flowing robe of a Mesopotamian prince; it is, in fact, neither more nor less than the *schenti*.[7] Finally, the winged globe at the top of the stele is quite Egyptian in form; it recalls, indeed, the most ancient type of that symbol.[8]

Side by side with these motives borrowed from foreign countries

[1] We owe our ability to reproduce this curious figure to the kindness of M. Clermont-Ganneau. He saw it in M. Peretié's collection in 1881, and took the photograph from which M. Saint-Elme Gautier made our drawing.

[2] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 120, 123-5.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. I. Fig. 162.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. II. Fig. 133.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. II. Fig. 351.

[6] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Figs. 13 and 85.

[7] *Ibid.* Vol. II. pp. 233-5.

[8] *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 152.



FIG. 8.—Bas-relief from Khorsabad. Louvre. Height 19½ feet.



we find a detail which is peculiarly Phœnician, namely, the group of disk and crescent which appears just above the head of the principal figure. Lastly, we must notice a detail peculiar to this particular monument, the cord which hangs down from the point of the helmet.

In the main idea and in the choice of accessories we find, then, the influence of two different schools; but in the actual carrying out of his figure the sculptor seems to have been inspired by Assyrian models; this is chiefly evident in the treatment of the nude, in the shape of arm, knee, and shoulder; the bones and muscles are there indicated with a vigour which betrays the teaching of Nineveh rather than that of Thebes or Memphis.

If the remains of Phœnician sculpture were more numerous, we should be sure to find that the motives just described were often repeated. Their popularity is proved by the fact that we find them on coins of much later date than this stele of Amrit. A



FIG. 9.—Coin of Tarsus. Silver. From De Luynes.



FIG. 10.—Coin of a Phœnician satrap. Silver. From De Luynes.



FIG. 11.—Coin of the Balearic Islands. From Gerhard.

coin of Tarsus, struck under Hadrian and bearing his effigy, has on one side a personage wearing a long robe and a high tiara, whose feet are placed on the back of a horned lion (Fig. 9). We know from its language and form of worship that Tarsus, like nearly the whole of Cilicia, remained Semitic down to a very late date. Another piece which is believed to have been struck in Phœnicia by a Persian satrap shows a god about to strike a lion with his sword, while he holds the animal by the tail (Fig. 10).[1] These coins belong to a period in the history of art to which we here only refer incidentally for the sake of helping to give a true idea of an earlier stage and of showing the persistence of certain traditions. For similar reasons we here reproduce two or three more Phœnician types, in which the work of artists whose

[1] DE LUYNES attributes this coin to a certain *Boges*, in whom he recognizes the *Bagæos* of Herodotus (*Numismatique des Satrapies*, pp. 40-41).

creations are lost have been handed down to us. On a coin ascribed to the Balearic Islands we see a god, probably one of the Cabeiri, perhaps Esmoun, whose attitude and accessories show some likeness to those above described. In his right hand he brandishes a hammer; between his left arm and his body a serpent raises its head like a "familiar"; his short petticoat leaves body and legs exposed (Fig. 11): in its heavy shapelessness this figure recalls the inelegant sculptures from Malta figured above (Vol. I. Figs. 230 and 231). The feather head-dress is that of the Egyptian Bes.

Another type, which we should have known only from coins had it not been for the recent discovery of the Carthaginian steles, is that of the winged female who holds the lunar disk between her hands; she has been recognized as the "Tanit, face of Baal," to whom these steles are consecrated. In one of these monuments, the goddess holds the disk pressed against her chest (Vol. I. Fig. 192); in others, she holds it against her hip or her stomach





FIGS. 12, 13.—Coins of Mallos, in Cilicia. From Gerhard.

(Figs. 12 and 13).[1] Our knowledge of the Phœnician pantheon is too incomplete to allow us to decide whether the same goddess is represented in certain female figures with a long veil covering head and body. We have already encountered this figure on two steles from Sulcis (Vol. I. Figs. 193 and 233); we find it repeated in a small terra-cotta fragment, also found in Sardinia. Both classes of figures have the same attribute, the great lunar disk.

On the other hand, certain sculpturesque types seem never to have been used on coins. Such, for instance, is that of the naked goddess whose hands either lie on her abdomen or support her breasts (Vol. I. Fig. 150, and Fig. 15). Its vogue may have

[1] These coins have been successively ascribed to Marathos (GERHARD), and Marion in Cyprus (WADDINGTON, *Mélanges de Numismatique et de Philologie*, 8vo, 1861, p. 55). More recently M. IMHOOF-BLUMNER has made good the claim of Mallos in Cicilia to them (*Mallos, Megarsos, Antioche du Pyramos*, 8vo, 1883, pp. 13-15).

passed by the time the Phœnician towns began to strike money. Neither do we find the same goddess, sitting or standing, with a dove held against her chest (Vol. I. Figs. 20 and 142), nor the deity with wide hips, nor the one with a child in her arms (Vol. I. Figs. 143 and 144), in whom we have recognized a goddess presiding over pregnancy and maternity.

Time has been so unkind to Phœnician works in stone that many a type which must have once been popular is now extant only in terra-cotta statuettes, or on coins and engraved gems. We find an instance of this in a strange figure which had a great effect upon Herodotus. In telling us how Cambyses entered the temple of Ptah at Memphis and mocked at the sacred image there adored, he says: "The image of Hephaistos is very like



FIG. 14.—Fragment of terra-cotta statuette. From Tharros. Height 5½ inches. Cagliari Museum.

the Phœnician *pataikoi*, the figures stuck up by the Phœnicians on the prows of their galleys; for those who have not seen them I will say what they are: they represent pygmies."[1]

These figures were of carved and painted wood, like a modern figure-head; we can hardly hope, therefore, to recover any, but what Herodotus says about them allows us to recognize these

[1] HERODOTUS, iii. 37. It has been suggested that this word Παταίκος, for which no sufficient etymology can be found in the Semitic dialects, is nothing but a Greek transliteration of Ptah; we do not know how the name of the Egyptian god was pronounced, and other examples of the substitution of *het* for *kappa* may be quoted. On this question see M. BERGER'S *Pygmée, Pygmalion, note sur le nom propre Baal Melec*, p. 355 (*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, vol. iv. pp. 347-356).

παταίκοι in other Phœnician monuments which, being of a more solid material, have offered a better resistance to the centuries. Herodotus speaks of a pygmy; now by a pygmy the Greeks understood a dwarf with a large head, with protruding belly and buttocks, and knotty limbs; a person answering in some degree to this description appears on certain silver coins of Phœnician origin,



FIG. 15.—Terra-cotta figure from Tharros. Height 13 inches. British Museum.

on which we see a great ship with a deformed dwarf on its prow, whose head seems to be that of an animal (Fig. 16). Many Egyptian statuettes of glazed faïence have preserved for us the type known to Egyptologists as the Embryonic Ptah (Fig. 17).[1]

[1] See DR. PARROT'S curious note *Sur l'origine d'une des formes du dieu Phtah* (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*,

But it is not always easy to distinguish between this type and another very like it, that of the god Bes. Ptah and Bes have much the same physical conformation, but the muscularity of Bes is more virile, his short ears are placed very high on his head, he



FIG. 16.—Coin ascribed to Arvad. French National Collection.

has the hanging tongue and contracted face of a Gorgon. His costume, too, is peculiar: he wears a panther's skin and his head is often crowned by a coronet of tall feathers. These accessories are not always present, and sometimes we may feel certain doubts as to the identity of the figure, but as a rule the difference is well



FIG. 17.—Ptah. Glazed earthenware. Louvre. Actual size.

marked, and in spite of a few common features the two types are sufficiently distinct.

vol. ii. pp. 125-134). In this image Dr. Parrot sees the copy of a congenital malformation noticed by himself in certain living subjects, and named by him *malformation achondroplastique.* His note is illustrated by a photograph taken from a child of seven, which recalls the more obvious features of the Embryonic Ptah in a very striking way.

It is not likely that every Phœnician ship had exactly the same figure on its bows; carvers must have exercised their fancy to some extent, just as they do now, and given a certain variety to the ships they decorated, by changes in the execution of their figure-heads. All that Herodotus tells us is that the objects in question had a general resemblance to pygmies, those little people who in the days of the "Father of History," were such favourites with the decorators of Greek pottery. This is confirmed by the evidence of the stone and terra-cotta statuettes which have come down to us. In a statuette or two from Cyprus and a few amulets from Sardinia we find a child-god whose form and attitude both recall those of a yet unborn fœtus, a resemblance which gave a name to the Ptah we have mentioned (Fig. 17).

On the other hand we recognize Bes at a glance in many of these statuettes. His attributes and peculiar physiognony are carefully reproduced. When it is a question of some minute figure in blue, green, or white glazed *faïence*, which hung on necklaces or was sewn on shrouds, we may ask whether it was made in Phœnicia or imported from Egypt. No such doubt arises in the case of an unglazed statuette; Egypt never seems to have made use of the unprotected clay.[1] We may, therefore, be fairly sure that any object in such a material came from a Phœnician workshop, but all doubt may be removed by examining the nature of the earth and the severity of the firing. We have already given three specimens from the Syrian coast (Vol. I. Figs. 21, 22, and Fig. 3);[2] here is a fourth (Fig. 18); it comes from Sardinia. All four have features in common, while their pose and the arrangement of their hair, beards and costume, are different.

The head of one is covered with a large veil, which falls on the back and shoulders in numerous folds. His right hand, now broken off, held a weapon, his left arm supports a shield with a central boss. His mouth is closed (Vol. I. Fig. 22). In another example it is wide open and the tongue pendent. Here the eyes must once have been filled in with enamel; they are nothing at present but gaping hollows. The figure is standing with both

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, p. 5.

[2] These statuettes were found at Tortosa, upon the continental domain of Arvad. They were bought by the Louvre from M. Peretié. A fourth statuette, very like that shown in Fig. 21, was found at the same place, and is now in the Louvre (LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, plate xix.).

hands upon its bowed thighs. A lion's skin covers the shoulders, the fore-paws hanging down upon the chest, which again is ornamented by a lion's mask suspended by a cord. The salient abdomen is supported by a narrow girdle. The beard is arranged in tresses with spiral ends, as in the Assyrian sculptures (Vol. I. Fig. 21);[1] the execution of the statuette from Tharros (Fig. 18) is more summary; the hands are laid upon the chest, but the animal's skin still covers all the upper part of the body, while the open mouth with its heavy moustache gives it the same general look as the figure from Tortosa.



FIG. 18.—Terra-cotta statuette of Bes. From Tharros. Height 7¾ inches. Cagliari Museum.

The same type is often found upon gems. We have already figured a scarab with Bes upon its convex side (Vol. I. Fig.

[1] M. HEUZEY (*Catalogue*, No. 197) has ascertained that this figure is not of common clay, but of a white earth glazed, the glaze having almost vanished with time. He suggests that it may have been imported from Egypt, but we think he is mistaken. The execution of the beard is not Egyptian; as a rule the sculptors of the Nile valley cut that appendage square, and ploughed it with vertical strokes; in this case its manipulation is like that of the Assyrian artists. Finally, the Egyptian glaze was too solid to disappear in this fashion and leave to the object on which it was placed the look of a simple terra-cotta. We should have some difficulty in quoting anything of undoubtedly Egyptian origin from which the glaze has thus perished.

141); we find him also upon the flat side of a similar object in green jasper, a most carefully-executed little work now in the Louvre (Fig. 19),[1] but of uncertain *provenance.* That it is the work of a Phœnician engraver is put beyond doubt by the occurrence of the disk and crescent symbol on the upper left-hand corner. The feather-crowned god is seen almost in profile. In his right hand he holds up a boar by the tail; across his shoulders he carries a lion, which he keeps in place by holding one of the hind-feet. The lion's mouth is wide open. We know neither the name borne by this god in Phœnicia, nor the functions assigned to him, nor the part he played in popular traditions;[2] but on the gem just described and on the flat of a scarab found in Sardinia (Fig. 20), where the same god appears between two lions, an allusion is certainly made to myths in which he figured as a vanquisher of wild beasts. Perhaps we have here, in his



FIG. 19.—Bes upon a scarab. Slightly enlarged from the original in the Louvre.

Phœnician and indigenous form, the young and handsome Adonis whom Aphrodite loved.

The popularity of this type was due to its curious mixture of strength and deformity. Thirty or forty years ago, when the Chinese had to meet European troops for the first time, they tried to terrify them by lining their walls with the images of grimacing monsters and flame-breathing dragons. The Phœnicians

[1] LONGPÉRIER, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes, &c., exposées dans les galeries du Louvre* (1854), No. 591. HEUZEY, *de quelques représentations du dieu grotesque appelé Bes par les Égyptiens* (*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1879, pp. 142, 143).

[2] It might be reasonably suggested that he was identical with the Poumai, discovered on the inscriptions by M. Ph. Berger, whose attempt at writing his story has been already quoted. The Greek words Pygmy and Pygmalion must be derived from Poumai.

were governed by a similar idea when they set up their hideous and muscular dwarf on the prows of their ships; they thus hoped to oppress the imaginations of those almost savage tribes with whom their commerce was carried on when they first began to coast along the shores of Greece, Italy, Sardinia, and Spain. Such a custom once taken up would persist long after its reason had passed away.

And the type which we may believe held its place most securely on the bows of the Phœnician galleys was that derived more or less from the Egyptian Bes. The child-god was less well fitted for such a post; he was without the virile strength, the great beard, the threatening countenance, the feathered head-dress and the generally fantastic accoutrements of the valiant dwarf.

To Syria belongs the credit of having created the type, or rather the types, of a terrible but benevolent god, who put his strength and valour at the service of humanity. There as in



FIG. 20.—Flat side of a scarab found in Sardinia. From Occurti.[1]

Greece a single idea was embodied in many different forms. Beside this dwarf Hercules there was another of good stature, thickset indeed, but only after the manner of athletes, and sometimes even colossal, as we shall find him in Cyprus. What was his name? Was he the Ousoos of Sanchoniathon, the hunter and traveller, who wore the skins of wild beasts, who invented navigation and set up landmarks upon distant coasts?[2] Whatever his name may have been, the type was always popular in Phœnicia; we have already encountered it in its primitive form upon the stele of Amrit (Fig. 7); we find the same person struggling with real or fantastic beasts in the decoration of metal cups; and when, towards the end of the sixth century, Phœnicia

[1] *Bulletino archeologico Sardo*, vol. iv. plate ii. 13.

[2] PHILO OF BYBLOS, i. 8; in the *Fragmenta historicorum græcorum* (Didot), vol. ii. p. 556.

began to strike money in imitation of Lydia and Greece, he appeared on the obverse of the first pieces of silver issued by the Kings of Tyre, of Kition, and other Syrian colonies, to stay there till the time of the Seleucidæ (Figs. 21 and 22). The influence of Greek art may be traced in this series of coins from the very beginning. While the two conceptions, the Phœnician Hercules and the Hercules of Greece, tended towards fusion, their images were gradually approaching the same result. This we shall find to be the case in that island of Cyprus in which the worship of the god seems to have been at least as widespread as in Syria, and where monuments are more numerous and in better condition. In Phœnicia itself the same idea was embodied in figures in the round which now survive only in a single fragment from Amrit. In a cave near the Maabed (Vol. I. Figs. 39 and 40), one of those depôts, of which several have been found in Cyprus, a certain quantity of fragmentary limestone statues were discovered.[1] The best preserved pieces are now in Paris, in the



Fig. 21.—Coin of Kition. Gold. From De Luynes.

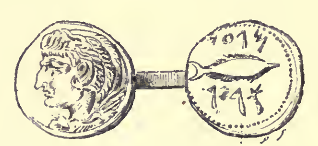


Fig. 22.—Coin of Gades. Silver. From Duruy.

collection of M. Louis de Clercq ; there are about fifty heads and only three torsos, of which only one has managed to take care of its own head. In this last-named fragment it is easy to recognize a Hercules with his lion's skin, belonging to the time when Phœnician sculptors had begun to draw their inspiration from Greece. We should have liked much to have figured this interesting torso.[2]

Phœnician artists often represented their deities on thrones, in attitudes of tranquil gravity. In a statuette of this kind from Amrit we have already recognized a goddess, Astarte perhaps (Vol. I.

[1] Upon this find see two letters, from Gaillardot and Peretié respectively, in the *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 850 and 851.

[2] While we cannot but lament that M. de Clercq should have refused us permission to reproduce his treasures, we must here convey our thanks to him for allowing us every facility for their inspection. It is natural enough that he should wish himself to be the means of presenting them to the public ; but it is desirable that such a publication should not be too long delayed. The crowning honour of any collection is to afford materials for the better knowledge of man and his story.

Fig. 20), and in another terra-cotta of the same class, found at Cornus, we find the same type with this difference—the two hands are laid upon the knees, and consequently there is no dove; neither is there any other attribute.

Sometimes the dignity of these sitting figures is increased by introducing a ram, a lion, or a sphinx, into the composition of the throne. We have already shown Baal-Hammon seated in such a chair (Vol. I. Figs. 25 and 140). In the Louvre there are several limestone figures from Cyprus in which the same type is repeated. In all these cases the animals' heads provide the arms, but we have also a type in which a sphinx forms the whole side of



FIG. 23.—Terra-cotta statuette from Cornus. Height 7¼ inches. Cagliari Museum.

the chair. Thus it is in a statuette found at Selinus in Sicily (Figs. 24 and 25), a site on which many other objects of eastern origin have been discovered. The figure has neither head nor arms, nor any external attribute which would help us to give it a name. Even the sex is not easy to decide, but, judging rather from the contours than from the long rope, it is female; and from the presence of the sphinxes we may add that the woman thus figured is certainly a goddess. There is one curious detail; the sphinxes are robed.[1] This arrangement, which never occurs in Egypt,

[1] This group has already been published by SERRA DI FALCO, *Antichita della Sicilia*, vol. v. plate xli. and p. 66. We reproduce his figure.

is thought to have existed also in a much broken throne now in the Louvre, which was found by M. Renan at Oum-el-Awamid.[1]



FIG. 24.—Front view of group found at Selinus. Height 30 inches. Palermo Museum.

These images of the divinity, whether of stone, metal, or clay, seem to have been as a rule much less than life-size. So far no



FIG. 25.—Side view of the same group.

slightest fragment of any such colossi as were common in Egypt and Assyria has been encountered in Phœnicia. On the other

[1] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 707, and plate liii.

hand, the Phœnicians followed the example of their oriental masters in chiselling the living rock, in cutting the figures of their gods on the faces of cliffs and the flanks of ravines. As models, they had the reliefs left by Egyptian and Assyrian conquerors in the pass of the Nahr-el-Kelb and on the cliffs near Adloun.[1] A few traces of these rock sculptures have been found; but nearly all are in very bad condition owing to the poor quality of the rock; those in which the figures can still be clearly made out belong to the Græco-Roman period.[2] The only examples to which any great antiquity can be ascribed are so worn away by the weather that we cannot guess what they represent, still less determine their age.[3] Close to Tyre, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Cana, there is a very Egyptian-looking relief surmounted by the winged globe. Unfortunately it is in bad condition; for centuries it has served as a target to the passing Methualis. M. Renan took a squeeze from it, which he lost, so that his description is unaccompanied by a figure.[4]

3.—*Iconic Sculpture.*

The condition in which the remains of Phœnician sculpture have come down to us makes it often difficult to distinguish between gods and mortals. Our chief help to a recognition of the latter are first, the absence of those attributes and symbolic animals which are reserved to gods and goddesses; secondly, iconic statues are always standing; the worshipper did not sit down in the presence of his deity; finally, there is a strong resemblance, in certain particulars, between the iconic statues of Phœnicia and those of Egypt, a resemblance which

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. p. 231. RENAN, *Mission*, pp. 661-662.

[2] RENAN, *Mission*, p. 238, and plate xxxi.

[3] These are in the neighbourhood of Tyre at Wadi-Kana, Deir-Kanoun, and El Akkab (RENAN, *Mission*, pp. 635-636 and 690). They are so rough that we have not cared to reproduce the sketch given by M. Renan. MR. SAYCE believes them to be very ancient (see his preface to Dr. Schliemann's *Troja*, p. xx. at the end of the note).

[4] *Mission*, pp. 640-641. At Samar-Gebeyl M. RENAN thought he could distinguish something like bas-reliefs in the Egyptian style; but he brought away no sketch.

enables us to determine the character of a whole class of reliefs and figures in the round.

Such, for example, is the case of a colossal torso found in 1857 at Sarfend, the ancient Sarepta, between Tyre and Sidon; it has been recognized as a fragment from a royal statue (Fig. 26).[1] The figure is girt about the loins with a short garment, bearing a strong family likeness to the Egyptian *schenti*, and decorated, like the schenti of many a Pharaoh, with two *uræi*.[2] The chest has its nudity broken by two necklaces, the one

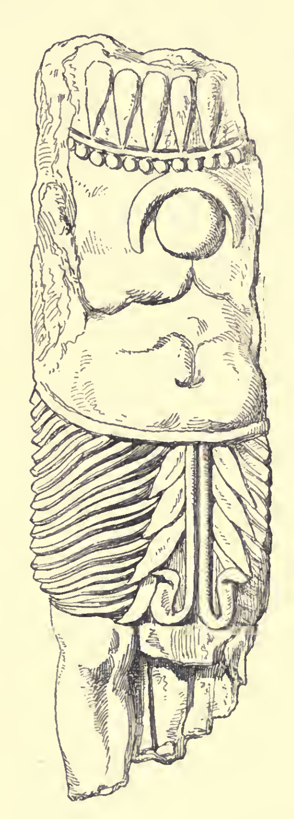


FIG. 26.—Torso of a royal statue. Grey lava. Height 4 feet 10 inches. Louvre.

composed of large pear-shaped drops, the other of balls. To the latter is attached a large disk-and-crescent pendent.

This is one of the oldest monuments left us by Phœnicia. It belongs to a period anterior to the first signs of Greek

[1] This fragment was found by the Arabs, and by them sold to M. Guillaume Rey, who gave it to the Louvre. It was transported to Saïda by M. Rey's travelling companion, Dr. Delbet, who found the task no easy one.

[2] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Fig. 224.

influence. The Sidonian by whom it was made went to Egypt for a costume, and thus gave to his client the outward appearance of one of those great Theban conquerors by whom Syria was so often overrun. The head is wanting. Most likely it was crowned by one of those lofty caps worn by Egyptian kings; we find such a head-dress upon a gem in the Museum of Florence, on which the name of Abibaal is engraved in Phœnician letters. In the figure accompanying this inscription, we ought, perhaps, to recognize a contemporary of David, namely, that King of Tyre who, the Bible tells us, was the father of Hiram.[1] The figure is standing; it wears the *schenti* and a crown like that of Pharaoh, and holds a sceptre tipped with a disk and reversed crescent. This symbol is repeated on the field. It is possible that both this intaglio and the torso from Sarepta date from the time of the first kings of Judah.

It may be suggested that the princes of Phœnicia never wore any such costume as this, which is very unlike anything we find in monuments of a later, and perhaps, more certain date.

May not the sculptor have given the royal uniform of Pharaoh to these petty sovereigns as a piece of flattery? just as, in later years, the sculptors of Rome used to make their imperial statues nude, to bring their emperors into the same class as gods and heroes?

There is, no doubt, some truth in this idea. The Phœnician kings caused themselves to be represented with the uræus on their brows and on their robes in order to be like Pharaoh. But it would seem that towards the time when Thothmes and Rameses sat on the throne of Egypt, the schenti, or short petticoat about the loins, was the ordinary costume on the Syrian coast. Upon Egyptian monuments the natives of Keft, in which all Egyptologists agree to recognize the Phœnicia of classic writers,[2] are always figured as wearing the schenti. As an instance we may name the paintings in the tomb of Rhekmara, at Thebes, where we see them bringing gifts to Thothmes III. (Fig. 27). The garment in question is here shown as white in the ground with a decoration of brilliant colours; in front a wide band hangs down beneath its lower edge. High boots with upturned toes

[1] DE LUYNES, *Numismatique des Satrapies*, 1849, p. 69, plate xiii. No. 1. We reproduce this intaglio in our chapter on engraved gems.

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 9th edition, vol. ii. p. 173.

complete the costume. The heads are bare; one or two wisps of hair stand up above the forehead and long tresses hang almost to the waist behind.

The same costume and mode of dressing the hair occurs in a very early bronze found in Northern Phœnicia, near Latakieh (Fig. 28). The upper part of the head is wanting, but the long tresses, the schenti with its vertical band and the high boots, are all there.

With the passage of time the national costume underwent a change. A dress that left the bust and legs uncovered was well enough fitted, as a rule, for men who laboured in fields or workshops, but on the Syrian coast there are times when rapid falls of



FIG. 27.—Natives of Keft bringing gifts to Pharaoh. From Wilkinson.

temperature demand a longer and more ample garment, something, in short, like the *aba* of the modern Arab of Syria. Syria does not enjoy the steady climate of the Nile valley, and when the Phœnicians began to navigate the Levant, and passed in the course of a few days from the burning shores of Egypt and Palestine to the colder latitudes of the Ægæan and Adriatic, they soon learnt the necessity for a style of dress which could protect them against wind and rain, and keep them warm in the chills of evening, night, and morning. In what we may call their modern period they seem, however, to have changed the national dress of their early years for a long and ample robe held in at the waist by a girdle. In its large folds the Phœnician merchant, like the Armenian or

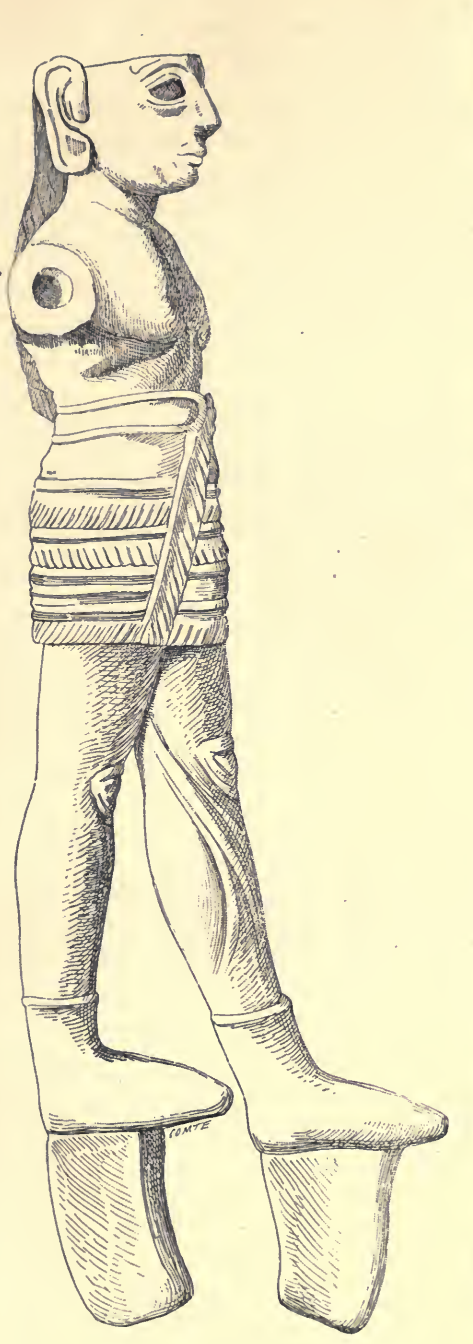


Fig. 28.—Bronze statuette. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Louvre.



Fig. 29.—Stele of white marble, from Tyre. Height $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Louvre.



Maronite of to-day, could stow away his seal, purse, and writing case. The costume was completed by a kind of toque or biretta, rather low in front, but rising high above the occiput. It is possible that the closer relations with the Mesopotamian empires which began with the eighth century had something to do with the change of fashion.

We have already drawn attention to this costume as figured on the stele from Lilybæum (Vol. I. Fig. 232), which was to all appearance executed in Sicily for a Carthaginian merchant; it may be seen also, though less clearly, on a Carthaginian stele,[1] and, finally, on a stele from Tyre itself recently acquired by the Louvre (Fig. 29). It was discovered in the wall of a house in modern Sour, where after being curtailed of its original proportions it was doing duty as a window mullion. The execution of this relief betrays the influence of Greek models, showing that its date cannot be earlier than the fourth century; its great interest lies in the fact that it is large enough and in sufficiently good condition to enable us to follow all the details of the costume. The winged globe at the top of the field would have been enough without any further evidence to prove the Phœnician origin of the stele.

The same robe with its close neck and short sleeves occurs in a much more ancient fragment—a fragment which can hardly be later than the sixth century (Fig. 30). It is the upper part of a votive statue like those which are so abundant in Cyprus. It was found at Amrit, in the well of one of those sepulchres which cover the ground so thickly to the south of Tortosa. Once, no doubt, set up in a temple, it must have been thrown into that hole at the fall of paganism.[2] The head is bare, the hair hangs down over the shoulders in long crimped tresses, as in many terra-cotta statuettes of women (Vol. I. Fig. 142); but even in its mutilated condition the head has preserved enough beard to prevent any doubt as to the sex of the person represented. From the analogy of the Cyprian monuments we may guess that he was shown in act to make an offering to the deity, one of his hands, no doubt, held out in front of him with a cup, dove, or some other votive object in it.

A small stone statuette brought back from Syria by M. Guillaume

[1] Berger, *Les ex-voto du temple de Tanit à Carthage*, p. 30.

[2] Renan, *Statuette phénicienne trouvée récemment à Amrit* (*Revue archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xxxvii. pp. 321-323, pl. xi.).

Rey (Fig. 31) also represents a worshipper with an offering. A person dressed in a costume like that we have been describing bears on his shoulders a headless animal, which appears to be a



FIG. 30.—Fragment of a statuette in rough limestone. Height 8 inches. Louvre.

ram from its general shape. We know from the tariffs that a ram was a common sacrifice. This motive as a whole was a favourite in Phœnicia, and we may attribute to that country a

roughly executed bronze now in the Louvre (Fig. 32) but of unknown *provenance*.[1] It is shaped like a sheath or, as the Greeks would call it, a xoanon. The head is covered with a helmet, a sword with a curved hilt hangs in front of the body but no baldrick



FIG. 31 —Limestone statuette. Height 6 inches. Louvre.

or other means of suspension is indicated. A goat or fawn lies across the shoulders of the figure, whose arms, now broken away, must have held it by the feet. This little monument differs from



FIG. 32.—Bronze statuette. Height 3⅝ inches. Louvre.

the one previously described only by its rough and summary execution.

[1] LONGPÉRIER catalogues it under Phœnician bronzes, calling attention to its analogies with the bronzes from Sardinia (*Musée Napoleon III.*, letterpress attached to plate xxi.).

A small bronze in the Peretié collection seems to represent another form of homage to the divinity (Fig. 2). A seated personage with a robe falling to his feet allows his fingers to stray over the strings of a lyre ; his head is uncovered and his long hair falls in ample masses upon his shoulders. In this statuette we may recognize some priest whose business it was to chant hymns before the altar; several replicas have been furnished by Cyprus.

On a torso belonging to M. de Clercq the costume is arranged in a way that reminds us of the statue from Sarepta (Fig. 26). But the heads found at Amrit might themselves be arranged into a series of very great interest, especially from a chronological point of view. We should not hesitate to class as the oldest those which seem to have been inspired by Assyria ; in them we find the same helmets, the same crimped hair and beards, as in many a figure from Mesopotamia. By insensible transitions we arrive at fragments in which the influence of archaic Greek art may be clearly traced, and finally we come to a head which recalls the marbles from Ægina ; by the small curls on its forehead, by its fine profile and straight nose, it suggests an Apollo by Onatas or some master of his time. Between the two extremes of the series some curious variations may be noticed. Here the eyes are turned up at their outer corners, elsewhere they are horizontal or round in shape after the Cypriot type. Some, too, wear the pointed cap so common in Cyprus. When all these fragments are arranged in a museum so that they may be studied at leisure and reproduced, the historian of art will be in a position to form a more precise idea of the progress of Phœnician sculpture.

Now that we have reviewed all the remains of Phœnician iconography we naturally ask ourselves whether any of these figures really are meant for portraits of individuals. In our opinion there can be no hesitation in answering No. All the heads belonging to one period resemble each other. The differences between them are only those of sex, age and costume. In one series the Egyptian or Assyrian type prevails, in another that of Greece ; but nowhere do we find the slightest attempt to seize and mark the particular features which distinguish individuals and allow them to be surely recognized by their friends. The Phœnician artist was content to figure an old man, a woman, or a young man, in a general way ; the means upon which he counted for the

expression of his thought were the presence or absence of the beard, the arrangement of the hair and the dress ; these things he varied as the fashions changed and as this or that foreign influence came to modify his art.

If our readers wish to convince themselves of this let them compare the eight anthropoid sarcophagi (Vol. I. Figs. 124, 126—130, 133 and 134) figured in our section on sepulchral furniture. If the Phœnicians had been possessed with the slightest desire for personal portraiture, then, if ever, was the time for its gratification ; we know what use the Egyptians made of these tomb-figures. But a glance at all these sarcophagi—especially if it be taken in the Louvre, where they lie side by side—is enough to show that the workmen who chiselled the heads upon them made no attempt to copy individual peculiarities. They all belong to the Græco-Phœnician period and all reproduce the same type, a type much more Greek than Semitic. Even where the head is covered with the Egyptian head-dress the profile is Hellenic in its lines. More conclusive proof could scarcely be given of the abstract and conventional character of Phœnician iconography.

§ 4.—*Animals.*

The early masters of the Phœnician sculptor and decorator, the artists of Egypt and Assyria, studied animals so much and so carefully that their Syrian pupils could hardly have failed to follow their example. What use did they make of it ? Before we answer this question let us examine their treatment of perhaps the noblest type offered by the animal world, namely that of the lion, the beast which gave a theme for so many fine works to the artists of Thebes and Nineveh.

Many sculptured lions have been encountered in Phœnicia. M. Renan found them at several points, at Byblos, at Sidon, at Oum-el-Awamid.[1] The fragment by which he was most deeply impressed is unfortunately much broken ; nothing in fact is left but the fore-legs and a part of the underside of the body (Fig. 33). We believe this to be the oldest of the lion sculptures found by the French savant. The artist seems to have made very good use of his Assyrian models. This is especially noticeable in the

[1] *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 175, 397, 702.

way the toes are placed on the ground and in the vigour of the thigh muscles. The loss of the head and upper part of the body is much to be lamented, for, judging from the part preserved, this must have been one of the finest works turned out by Phœnicia. Its execution is far superior to that of the lions in the round which come from the same town or from other points on the coast. At Byblos a pair of couchant lions were found with the stele of Iehaw-Melek; their backs were grooved longitudinally to support an altar or slab.[1] Their execution is heavy and commonplace.

Another mediocre work is the lion in black granite found at Beyrout and purchased for the Louvre from M. Peretié (Fig. 34); it is very like those lions produced in such numbers in the Nile

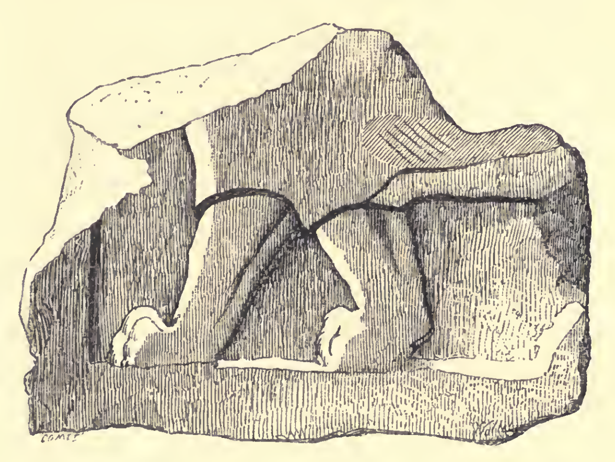


FIG. 33.—Fragment of a relief. From Renan.

valley, during the Saïte period, of which many examples have been brought from the Serapeum to the Louvre.[2] The animal is lying down, its left fore-paw crossed over the right, which is turned palm upwards. M. Longpérier came to the conclusion that this lion was carved in Phœnicia from an Egyptian model; the details of its execution seemed to show that it was not an original work. In this opinion he was confirmed by the examination of an engraved stone found by M. Oppert at Babylon

[1] See *Corpus Inscrip. Semit.* Pars. I. pp. 1 and 2, for a reproduction of these two lions.

[2] The Louvre possesses a lion brought from Byblos by M. Renan, in which the attitude of the basalt lion is reproduced with but slight variations. It is of stone, and much worn.

(Fig. 35) ; it bears the name *Ebed-Melek* in finely-cut Phœnician letters, and it represents two couchant lions in which the



FIG. 34.—Lion in black granite. Length 28 inches. Louvre.

attitude, proportions, and even the style of the Beyrout animal are strictly reproduced.

A pair of stone lions have been found at Oum-el-Awamid; they must once have been placed right and left of a doorway (Fig. 36). the sculptor by whom they were carved was perhaps a pupil of the Greeks, for there is nothing oriental in his work except the way in which the hinder parts of the animal are left imbedded in



FIG. 35.—Engraved stone. Actual size.

the block from which his fore-quarters have been disengaged. This convention is common enough in Assyria and in the work of those who had no masters but the sculptors of Mesopotamia, as for instance, in the Cappadocian monuments.



FIG. 36.—Lion at Oum-el-Awamid. Stone. From Renan.

Other animals, whether real or fantastic, play but a small part in Phœnicia. The goats and rams carried by worshippers to their gods are only introduced as explanatory details; we never feel that the artist took any interest in them for their own sakes, like the sculptors of Assyria and Egypt; he never cared to study and

render the peculiarities of a living form or to mark the features which distinguish it from others and betray its own special capabilities. Phœnicia made portraits of animals no more than she made those of men. Neither did she invent fantastic beasts; she took them, indeed, from her neighbours; she sprinkled griffins and sphinxes over everything she decorated; she put the winged and



FIG. 37.—Cilician coin. From Gerhard.

human-headed bull on her coins (Fig. 37), but to none of these imaginary beings did she give the grandeur and nobility we admire in the sphinx of Egypt or the winged bull of Nineveh. Under the burin and chisel of her artisans those motives became common enough, but no attempt was made to vary them, to give them renewed life, to endow them with a spirit and soul of their own.

§ 5.—*Sculpture among the nations in the interior of Syria.*

Between the Phœnician cities of the coast and the middle stream of the Euphrates, between Amanus and Sinai, lies a wide region which is all included, in these days, in the name of Syria. In antiquity it was inhabited by several very different populations. The Philistines in the south were, perhaps, Aryans.[1] Upon the ethnic affinities of several other tribes we are without information, but the Semitic element, represented by the tribes related closely to the Jews, such as the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Amalekites, and, in the north, by the tribes united under the supremacy of the Aramæans, seem to have predominated. To northern Syria belonged also the Khetas or Hittites who, from the fifteenth to the tenth century, struggled so valiantly against the Egyptians first and afterwards the Assyrians. But the Hittites possessed an ideographic system of writing of which they may have been the inventors, which, in any case, they propagated in many different directions. This writing, like that of Egypt, was made up

[1] See FR. LENORMANT, *Manuel d'histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. pp. 205-206 (third edition).

of drawings of animals and other objects, and its employers deserve to be the subjects of a separate study, which we shall combine with that of the nations of Asia Minor. The Hittites occupied the two slopes of the Amanus, and as they were hemmed in on the south and east by the two great oriental empires, their influence found its chief field to the northwards, in the interior of the peninsula.

As for the other races between whom the vast territory whose limits we have just given was shared, there is but one to whom a separate place in our history seems due, and that is the Jews; we shall give an account of their artistic achievement after we have finished with the Phœnicians and their dependent races. Not that it is either very rich or very original, but Jerusalem has played too great a part in the world of ideas to allow the art-historian to pass over its famous temple without some attempt to determine its size and arrangement. Neither in the Philistines, nor in the Moabites, nor in the Aramæans of northern Syria can we take the same interest; moreover, so far as we can tell from the little we know about the methods of their industry and the characteristics of their art, there is nothing in either which cannot be explained by the combined influence of Egypt and Assyria.

In this region no really ancient monuments of architecture have been found. No one of the buildings whose often imposing remains have been examined and described by travellers, dates from before the Græco-Roman period. The only things to which an earlier date can be given are little objects of uncertain origin, —pots, glass phials, jewels and engraved stones, and a few broken statues and bas-reliefs. Sculptures are less easily moved than vases or the cylinders and cones which were used as seals, and the probabilities are that they were made in the countries where they are found. We shall, therefore, mention such things of Phœnician origin in their geographical order, advancing from the frontiers of Egypt to those of Assyria.

In spite of its barbarous appearance, the monument to which we shall first refer is later, perhaps, than the Christian era. In every detail of its execution, and especially in the treatment of the hair, there are sure but indescribable signs of a debased epoch (Fig. 38).

This slab of grey marble was bought at Ascalon by M. de Saulcy. Ascalon was a city of the Philistines in which the great local divinity, called Atargatis, Athara and Derketo by the Greek

writers, was represented as a woman to the waist and a fish below.[1] She appears, perhaps, in one of her secondary forms on the flat of a rock crystal cone in the Paris *Cabinet des Médailles* (Fig. 39).[2] The figure is a very complex one. The bust is certainly that of a woman and the tail that of a fish, but between the two appear the fore-quarters of a dog. On some coins of Ascalon dating from the imperial epoch we find this strange type of a woman-fish,[3] but it is there only by exception and in a subordinate place. Contact with the Greeks brought a change of taste; the great local goddess, Aphrodite Ourania, as Herodotus calls her, whose worship had been longer established at Ascalon than at Cyprus, if we may believe



FIG. 38.—Bas-relief from Ascalon. Length 22½ inches. Louvre.

that historian,[4] was figured as a woman, crowned sometimes with lotus flowers, sometimes with a mural diadem, and holding in one hand a dove, in the other a spear or sceptre. And the central figure in our bas-relief (Fig. 38) is purely human, while the place

[1] DIODORUS, II. iv. 2.

[2] The Duc de Luynes, to whom this intaglio formerly belonged, classed it among the engraved stones of Phœnicia.

[3] MIONNET, *Description de médailles antiques*, vol. v. p. 533; *Supplément*, vol. viii. p. 369. Sea horses are figured upon certain very ancient silver coins, classed by DE LUYNES as *incertaines des rois de Phénicie* (*Numismatique des Satrapies* plate xvi.).

[4] HERODOTUS, I. 105.

she occupies and the whole character of the work prove her to be a goddess. There is a necklace about her throat and a string of large balls about her loins, while her legs are encased in a scanty petticoat; her hands are placed upon her abdomen in such a way that the ends of her fingers are thrust beneath her girdle.[1] On each side of her there is a bending plant and under its shade a seated woman, entirely naked, with one hand upon her head and long hair falling upon her shoulders. These women are not in an attitude of worship; perhaps the whole three compose a divine group, an emblem, like the Assyrian Nana, of the tripartite moon.[2] It may be noticed that the head of the central figure is very disk-like.

We reproduce this monument in spite of its date, because its theme at least is uncommon and distinguishes it from the ordinary



FIG. 39.—Phœnician cone. Actual size.

run of things made during the Græco-Roman decadence. It helps us to imagine what some of the sacred statues in the oldest temples of Palestine and Syria must have been down to the last days of paganism.

The relief from Ascalon bears witness to the vitality of a very old type, a type which even after the final triumph of the Greek genius and style, remained faithful to its oriental physiognomy. It is curious to find an echo from so remote a past still making itself heard on the very eve of the day when Christianity was to overturn the altars and break the images of the dying faith; but those monuments in which theme and execution both belong to a very distant age are more interesting still. In 1851 M. de Saulcy

[1] In a very ancient terra-cotta from Cyprus we find the female divinity in almost exactly the same attitude (see Vol. I. Fig. 150).

[2] DE LONGPERIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, description of plate xxxii.

discovered a relief in the country of Moab, to the east of the Dead Sea, and made a drawing of it; thirteen years later the Duc de Luynes found the fragment still in the same place; he purchased it and brought it away, and in 1865 he presented it to the Louvre (Fig. 40).

The subject is very like that of the colossal fragment from Sarepta (Fig. 26). It must represent a king of Moab, some



FIG. 40.—Moabite bas-relief. Height 41 inches.

predecessor or successor of Mesha, some prince who, like the contemporary of Rehoboam, worshipped the god Kemosch and made war against Judah and Israel. The material is black basalt. The figure wears a helmet, it is girt with the schenti, it holds a lance, point downwards, in both hands; a bow hangs from its shoulder. In the lower part of the slab some animal is roughly

introduced. The costume is that of Egypt and primitive Phœnicia, but in the style of the figure and especially in the exaggeration and conventionality of the knee there is much to remind us of Assyria.

According to the Arab tradition, Amr, son of Lohay, passed through the country of Moab at the beginning of the third century of our era and saw the inhabitants worshipping idols ; when he asked what they were he was answered : " These are gods made in imitation of the celestial bodies and of human figures." Amr begged for one of these gods and they gave him Hobal, whom he took to Mecca and set up on the Caaba. It was a statue in red stone, representing an old man with a long beard, a detail which reminds us of the Assyrian and Babylonish sculptures.[1] The story of the Arab writers at least proves that the Moabitish sculptures had won a certain notoriety. They were cut in the volcanic rock which gives the whole of that district such a peculiar physiognomy.

Besides this curious relief the country of Moab has furnished the stele of Mesha, the very oldest fragment of alphabetic writing that has survived the centuries.[2] We may therefore hope for new and important discoveries as soon as the monopoly of the Bedouins is broken down. On the other hand there is one part of Palestine beyond the Jordan which appears never to have been inhabited by a sedentary population until the Roman period. This is the Haouran and its dependencies, where a great number of monuments in excellent condition have been discovered, all belonging to the time of the empire and mainly to the second and third centuries.

The case of Upper Syria, lying between the gulf of Issus on the one hand and the fords of the Euphrates on the other, is very different. There, among ruins dating from the Græco-Roman period, from the times of the Seleucids, of Antoninus and Severus, we find the traces of a much older civilization and of an art which vacillated between Egypt and Assyria. In some cases, as, for instance, in that of the head brought from Edessa by Texier (Fig. 41), it is difficult to say which model has been followed. This fragment was found upon the left bank of the Euphrates, to the north of Mesopotamia, which would seem to point to an Assyrian

[1] DE LONGPERIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, plate xxviii.

[2] A facsimile and translation of the inscription will be found in the *Notice des monuments provenant de la Palestine* of M. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE.

origin ; but in its aspect there is little to remind us of Khorsabad or Nimroud. The surface of the dark grey stone has once been entirely covered with a coat of paint. The carnations are red, the eyes black and white ; the upper part of the head and the boundaries of the forehead are coloured with a black which time has altered. When the latter was fresh it must have suggested closely cropped black hair. Both by its colouring and careful execution



FIG. 41.—Painted sculpture from Edessa, front view. Height 11¼ inches. Louvre.

this fragment reminds us of those painted limestone statues which have been found in such numbers in the cemeteries of Memphis and Thebes ; but the type is very different ; the neck is not so short and thick as in Egypt ; the eyes are more oval, and, when we look at it sideways, we see that the form of the cranium differs from the Egyptian type. It is far longer from front to back (Fig. 42). If in imagination we restore this head to its body and clothe

the latter in the long and ample garment which never ceased to be in fashion in western Asia from the time of the first Chaldee empire onward, we shall obtain a whole that may be compared to the personage who stands before an altar on so many cylinders from the second empire.[1] The arrangement of the hair and the long upright neck are strong points of likeness.



FIG. 42.—Painted sculpture from Edessa, side view.

This fragment from Edessa must always be somewhat of a puzzle until some more nearly complete iconic statue of the kind is discovered.

An extremely well preserved bronze statuette which comes from the ancient Commagene has many obvious features in common with the stele of Amrit (Fig. 7), the stele of Moab (Fig. 40) and the torso from Sarepta (Fig. 26). The statuette in question (Fig. 43)

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Fig. 154.

was acquired at Marach in 1881 by a French captain of Engineers named Marmier. The person it represents wears no clothing beyond the schenti about his loins. Body, legs, and arms are bare; a short dagger is thrust into the girdle, and the head is protected by a helmet with a high crest ending in a salient boss over the centre of the forehead. The modeller has dwelt on the processes and the great muscular masses, such as the calf, in a way that recalls Assyria,



FIG. 43.—Bronze statuette. Actual size.

but the type of head has nothing in common with Nineveh. The cheek-bones are high, the nose straight, the chin long and pointed (Fig. 44). The whole profile is peculiar; it is neither Greek nor Assyrian, but reminds us rather of the figure on the Tyrian stele in the Louvre (Fig. 29). Unfortunately the stone is much worn and has not preserved the same clear-cut lines as the bronze.

The positions of the arms in this figure are difficult to explain.

The right hand seems to have held a sceptre or weapon of some kind, the point being directed over the shoulder; the left hand was apparently closed. The appendages to the feet do not seem, as in the primitive bronzes (Fig. 1), to be merely the metal which has cooled in the channel to the mould after the latter was full. The whole execution of the figure speaks of a time when such unnecessary lumps might easily have been removed. They must have been deliberately contrived and preserved so as to afford means of affixing the statuette to some piece of furniture; perhaps to the lid of a bronze vase. A careful examination confirms this idea. The soles of the feet have been planed with a file to make them stand fairly upon the surface for which they were intended; on the front of each lump there is a gentle hollow, also made no doubt to facilitate the attachments of the figure.

These descriptions and comparisons will enable our readers to understand why we have ascribed the bronze from Marach to



FIG. 44.—Head of the above statuette, seen in profile.

Phœnicia, although it was found in the country which has lately yielded so many things bearing those still undeciphered characters that are supposed to be Hittite.[1] These characters are always, or nearly always, accompanied by artistic features not to be found here. Not only is the workmanship more summary and less advanced, there is another and more certain criterion: in the Hittite monuments every detail of costume differs from what we find in this statuette,[2] which is, moreover, so small and portable that the actual spot where it happens to have been found is no

[1] See the short report presented to the Archæological Society of Berlin by Herr OTTO PUCHSTEIN, the head of the scientific mission sent to the Commagene in the summer of 1883 by the Berlin Academy (*Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1883, No. 48, pp. 1-4).

[2] The present writer was, perhaps, the first to point out the features which, as a rule, distinguish the monuments now known as Hittite. See G. PERROT, *Memoirés d'Archéologie, d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire* (1875, 8vo, Didier), IV.; *l'Art de l'Asie Mineure, ses origines, son influence.*

evidence as to its birthplace. The *provenance* of a work of art is only good evidence of its origin in two cases. We may be sure that sculptures in the living rock or statues of great size and weight were the work of the natives of the country in which they occur unless we have proof to the contrary. But when it is a question of coins, of jewels, of metal or terra-cotta statuettes, we can only look upon them as a natural product of the soil when they are found in great numbers within a comparatively narrow space. It was not so with the bronze from Marach, so that we may refuse to look beyond its internal qualities for evidence as to the class in which it should be placed.

§ 6.—*Phœnician Sculpture in the West.*

Cyprus has furnished a great number of monuments on which Phœnician style and taste have left their mark, but, on the other hand, the Greek elements took early root in the island, and from the contact of the two races and the two styles rose an art which had a peculiar physiognomy of its own. Moreover, by a lucky chance, antiquity is far better preserved in Cyprus than on the Syrian coast. Our constant preoccupation in dealing with Phœnicia proper was to omit none of the scanty remains left to us by time and the violence of man, but when we turn to Cyprus we are embarrassed by the multitude of things offered to our choice. We shall, therefore, make Cypriot sculpture the subject of a special study, passing it over for the moment to inquire what Phœnician art became in those western colonies which, after preserving the purity of the Semitic blood for so long, became in time great centres of Latin civilization. In Spain none of those products of Phœnician industry which once flowed into the country have yet been recovered, but in Africa and in Sardinia we have had better luck. We shall encounter nothing, perhaps, to greatly modify the idea we have already formed of Phœnician art, but none the less shall we be glad of some additions to our knowledge.

As yet the Louvre is without any terra-cottas from the Sardinian graveyards, but there are a few in London and a great many in the museums of Sardinia itself.[1]

[1] We have personally examined all the Sardinian terra-cottas in the British Museum. As for those at Cagliari we found ourselves unable to trust to the repro-

The first thing that strikes us when we begin to examine the series of statuettes found at Tharros and Sulcis, is that they all have their prototypes in Cyprus and Syria. Nothing is commoner in Cyprus than the naked goddess with her hands upon her breasts (Fig. 45); we have already met her in Sardinia (Fig. 15). It is the same with the robed and seated goddess (Vol. I. Fig. 20), who is encountered with a different head-dress and her arms in another position, in the western island (Fig. 46). In Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Rhodes no type was more popular than that of the woman, priestess or deity, who presses a dove against her breast;



FIG. 45.—Cypriot statuette. Terra-cotta. Height 8 inches. Louvre.

many examples have been found at Tharros and in other Sardinian cemeteries; they (Vol. I. Fig. 142) are, however, less careful in execution than their eastern congeners (*Ib.* Fig. 223). We may say the same of another type often found in Sardinia both upon steles (*Ib.* Figs. 193 and 233) and in terra-cottas (Figs. 48

ductions given in works published either at Turin or in the island itself. We have consequently based our woodcuts on photographs sent to us by M. Ph. Vivanet, the Royal Commissioner charged with the surveillance of both museums and excavations in Sardinia.

and 67,) namely that of the veiled female who presses a large disk against her bosom with both hands.[1]

Is the person here figured to be recognized as Astarte with the lunar disk ? The notion derives some support from the fact that she occurs on steles of a votive character and that, consequently, she must be a goddess. On the other hand there is a terra-cotta in the Louvre, supposed to have been found at Tripoli in Syria, in which the disk is painted red and is thought to represent a tambourine, the figure beating it with both hands.[2] But whatever the disk may mean, the fact remains that it supplies an additional link between the art of Phœnicia and that of Sardinia.



FIG. 46.—Sardinian statuette. Terra-cotta. Height $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. British Museum.

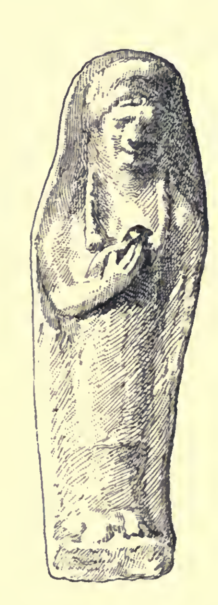


FIG. 47.—Sardinian statuette. Terra-cotta. Height $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches. British Museum.

In a beautiful little terra-cotta from Tharros we encounter a type which has so far been found nowhere out of Sardinia (Fig. 49). In its long robe and Egyptian head-dress it has much the appearance of a mummy, and reminds us of the funerary statuettes of Egypt ; but it is distinguished from the latter by two characteristic features ; the arms instead of being folded on the chest, hang down at the sides, and the feet are visible. The

[1] See CRESPI, *Catalogo*, pp. 71 and 148, plate ii. fig. 18.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, No. 195 and plate vi. fig. 4. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, plate xxv. fig. 2 ; also see below, p. 54.

modelling both of feet and arms is strong and true. The face in its frame of plaited hair is not without elegance, and the figure as a whole is one of the very best things left us by the Phœnician ceramist.

Were all these figures imported from Phœnicia or manufactured in the island itself? The latter most likely. No doubt Phœnician moulds were at first used in Sardinia as in Cyprus, but afterwards



FIG. 48.—Sardinian statuette. Terra-cotta. Height $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches. British Museum.

the models furnished by the mother-country were copied with a freedom which increased as time went on. A minute comparison between Syrian and Sardinian statuettes would certainly confirm this conjecture. Even now, and in spite of scanty materials and frequent breaks in the series, we can see that in these western colonies some types were reproduced much oftener than others;

thus the goddess with the disk seems to have been a greater favourite in the Phœnician colonies than in the ports of the mother-country.

The question as to where these statuettes were made may be finally decided by examination of the earths of which they are composed. Some comparisons which we have been enabled to make with the help of two fragmentary terra-cottas sent to us from Sardinia by MM. Vivanet and Crespi, confirm us in the



FIG. 49.—Sardinian statuette. Terra-cotta. Height 8¼ inches. Cagliari Museum.

belief that they were, as a rule, modelled in Sardinia from the earth of the country.[1]

[1] The fragments in question were submitted to M. Heuzey, who sent us the following note: "The clay of the two fragmentary terra-cottas confided to me is not the same as that of those statuettes in the Louvre which were found in Phœnicia.

"Fragment No. 1 consists of a soft earth, with little consistency, which can be scratched with the finger-nail; it is a yellowish-grey; it has been roughly ground, and is still mixed with glassy spangles and bits of gravel. It contains mineral elements which might be submitted to the microscope with advantage.

"Fragment No. 2 is of a brick-red clay, more carefully prepared than No. 1, of medium hardness, and containing glassy spangles. Where broken it shows an irregular grain which is not to be found in the pieces from Phœnicia proper."

Mr. Murray, who has had every opportunity of studying the rich series of terra-cottas from Tharros in the British Museum, has also noticed the two principal varieties of earth, the one a pale brown, the other a brick red. "Our Sardinian

Some of the moulds used for these statuettes have been found, and the Sardinian archæologists believe they can recognize the very banks of clay from which their materials were obtained.[1]

The cemeteries of Carthage itself and of the rest of Phœnician Africa have, so far, yielded very few statuettes; with a single exception, and that only a fragment, all the statuettes from Carthage in the Louvre bear unmistakeable signs of Greek influence.[2] From the fifth century onward Hellenic art began to prevail all over the Mediterranean, and to take its place as an international art; at that period, or perhaps a little later, during the fourth century, the great commercial city of Carthage, influenced by continuous intercourse with the Greeks of Sicily and Italy, with the Etruscans and with the semi-Hellenic populations of Latium and Campania, must have at least partly abandoned the poor and ill-organized forms of Phœnician art for those of the richer style she saw rising all around her. There are times when art is of no country; when the necessities of a free and elegant life cause it to leap the barriers traced by religion and race.[3]

When the Carthaginians began to strike money they employed Greek artists to make their dies (Vol. I. Figs. 11, 12, 233). From every town captured in their Sicilian wars their generals carried off Greek statues to decorate the temples and public squares of their native city. After his final victory Scipio invited the Sicilian cities to reclaim the property of which they had been deprived,[4] and when they had each taken their own, enough statues still remained to afford a handsome booty for the Roman triumph of the conqueror.[5]

Among the examples of Greek art thus transported to Rome there were some, no doubt, to which their original owners had failed to make good their claim, but others had been commissioned from Greek artists by the Carthaginians themselves. Thus Diodorus tells us that when the Carthaginians laid siege to Syracuse in 396, in the time of Dionysius the Elder, they penetrated into Achradina and profaned the temples of Demeter

terra-cottas," he writes to me, "seem to have a local physiognomy both from workmanship and the quality of clay used; they appear to have been made in Sardinia with moulds brought from Phœnicia."

[1] SPANO, *Bull. Arch. Sardo*, vol. iv. pp. 120-131. VIVANET, letter of February 19, 1884.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, Nos. 240-245.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 100.

[4] APPIAN, viii. 123.

[5] *Ibid.* viii. 130.



Fig. 50.—Votive bas-relief from Carthage. Turin Museum.



and Persephone. In the sequel the Carthaginian army was attacked by the plague, and met with disasters of various kinds, in which the Senate saw a punishment directed against the impiety of which Himilco had been guilty. They tried to conciliate the offended goddesses by raising statues to them in Carthage at the public cost, by sacrifices to be celebrated in the Greek fashion, and by consecrating some of the more notable Greeks in the city as priests in their honour.[1] These statues of Greek goddesses, confided to the care of Greek priests, must surely have been Greek in style and attribute. In this connection we may notice a curious monument carried off from Carthage by an Italian consul, and now in the Turin museum (Fig. 50). It is an interesting example of the work done for Carthaginian patrons by Greek artists. A goddess stands in a kind of pavilion made up of two Doric columns and a triangular pediment; she is Persephone-Coré, a deity whose worship was introduced into Carthage towards the end of the fourth century. With her right hand she draws aside her veil, in the nuptial gesture, in her left she holds a vase of pomegranates. The panther of Dionysos, her spouse in the under-world, helps out the significance of the composition.[2]

On the base of the pavilion the following inscription in the Phœnician language and character may be read:

"The vow of thy servant Melekiathon the Suffete, son of Maharbal the Suffete."

The goddess is addressed directly as in the dedications to several other votive monuments of the same people.

In all this there is nothing barbarous, as the Greeks would say, but the Phœnician text. All the rest, both in the figure and its surroundings, is purely Hellenic. The monument belongs to the last years of Carthaginian independence. It has no date; but the juxtaposition of mouldings belonging to all the three orders, as well as the form of the Phœnician letters, point decisively to the epoch named. In the execution, too, of the figure, some of the over-sweetness of the decadence may be traced. "Maharbal the Suffete" has been identified by some with the famous lieutenant

[1] DIODORUS, XIV. 63 and 77. This story has been doubted (DAVIS, *Carthage and Its Remains*, p. 194), but without any valid reason.

[2] *Gazette Archéologique*, seventh year, pp. 76-79, and plate xvii.; *Un Ex-voto carthaginois* (E. RENAN and FR. LENORMANT).

of Hannibal, which would bring the stele down to the early years of the second century B.C.

As we have already shown by more than one example Greek forms predominate in those steles dedicated to Tanit which have been found in thousands on the site of Carthage (Vol. I. Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, 29, 30, 71, 82, 83, 192). Ionic columns supporting pediments, volutes, eggs, triglyphs, acroteria, palmettes, and other motives taken from Hellenic architecture, appear again and again. The symbols to which these things afford a frame alone preserve their Phœnician character, and betray the origin of the work. On most of the steles the divinity is figured only by emblems or parts of her body : such as the open hand in the act of blessing. On a very few reliefs we find her bust or even her whole person, which is always strangely heavy in design (Fig. 51) and proves



FIG. 51.—Votive stele from Carthage. French National Library.

that if the artisans who chiselled these ex-votos had Greek models before their eyes, they were not the people to profit greatly by the example they gave. The seed fell on an ungrateful soil ; the beauty of the human form did not arouse the curiosity of the Semitic sculptor ; he took no pleasure in studying it and rendering it in all its variety ; his dry and abstract draughtsmanship reminds us of nothing so much as of the art of the Herald's College (Fig. 52). Sometimes he is guilty of real savagery, as in this sketch of a profile and an adoring or blessing hand (Fig. 53). Another strange thing is the dancing divinity with a satyr's tail (Fig. 54). Her head has disappeared, but her right breast and ample stomach can still be descried. In her right hand she holds what may be a thyrsis ; her only garment is a sort of elementary cummerbund,

ending in double tag which floats behind her. The idea of such a figure may possibly have been suggested by the satyrs on Greek vases and Etruscan bronzes.

As a rule the figures of animals are better; among them may be recognized the dove (Vol. I. Fig. 192), the swan,[1] the ram,[2]





FIGS. 52, 53.—Votive steles from Carthage. French National Library.

perhaps the hippopotamus, with a rider on his back (Fig. 55);[3] the bull, often in well-conceived action (Fig. 56);[4] finally the elephant, which is drawn with feeling and a real knowledge of nature (Fig. 57). His trunk is turned upwards (Fig. 55), and the movements of his limbs well understood and suggested; he has the retreating

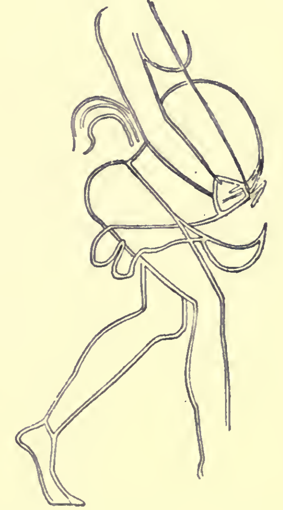


FIG. 54.—Votive stele from Carthage. French National Library.

forehead and huge fan-like ears which distinguish the elephant of Africa from that of Asia.[5] As for the horse which appears on

[1] PH. BERGER, *Les Ex-voto du Temple de Tanit*, p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 10.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 16.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[5] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. ii. p. 374.

nearly all the Carthaginian coins, where he is remarkable for his light and graceful form, he occurs only once on a stele, so far as we know, and then he is so stiff and awkward as to be scarcely recognizable.[1] We find two mice on a single stone; they may have been included among the victims offered to Tanit.[2] Lastly, fishes of different kinds are not uncommon; dolphins are the most

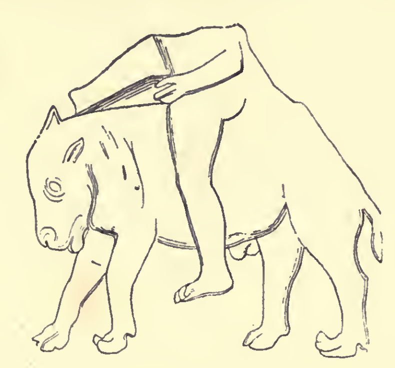


FIG. 55.—Votive stele from Carthage. French National Library.

numerous, they are used either singly, or in couples facing each other, as on the coins.[3]

Many of the above remarks might be repeated in speaking of the motives taken from the vegetable kingdom. These are faithful enough on the whole, but they are little varied. The lotus-flower was such a common motive throughout the east, that it could hardly be anything but conventional at Carthage; on the pediment



FIG. 56.—Votive stele from Carthage. French National Library.

of one of the steles, however, we find it firmly drawn and by no means without elegance (Fig. 58). On the other hand, the well laden pomegranate-tree in Fig. 59 has been drawn from nature. Elsewhere we have no difficulty in recognizing the tamarisk with its thin branches and bending foliage; the gourd, which played a

[1] BERGER, *Les Ex-voto, &c.* p. 17. [2] *Ibid.* p. 18. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 19-20.

part in the mysteries of Adonis, and those ears of wheat which waved so richly over the plains of Carthage.[1] The palm-tree is reproduced less faithfully than on the Punic coins (Vol. I. Fig. 253); the trunk is too thick and the foliage too stiff and scanty (Fig. 60). The whole is rather a shaft and capital than a tree.

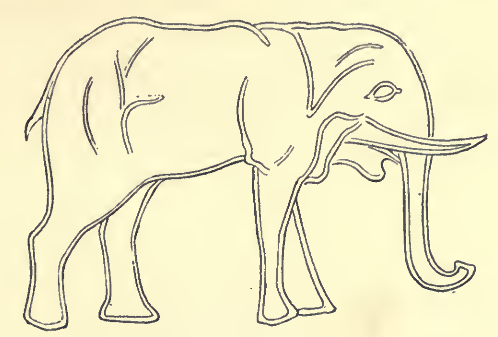


FIG. 57.—Votive stele from Carthage. French National Library.

The workmanship of all these steles is very rough and careless. Imitation of Greece did not make up for a want of artistic talent and spirit in the humble artist who supplied such outlets for popular piety. Both stone and clay seem to have been worked with better taste at an earlier period, when inspiration was mostly



FIG. 58.—Summit of stele from Carthage. French National Library.

from the east. We may give as examples the steles discovered in 1867 on the site of Adrumetum;[2] none of them are inscribed, but

PH. BERGER, *Les Ex-voto, &c.* pp. 21-22

[2] For the facts of this discovery see M. PH. BERGER, *Stèles trouvées à Hadrumète* (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1884, p. 51, and plate vii.). Four of these steles were

their decorations are carried out with a much firmer hand than those of Carthage.

The most interesting stele in the collection appears to represent a portion of the façade of some building (Fig. 61). Two columns support a rich and complex entablature. These columns have a campaniform base crowned by a kind of circular cushion, above which the shaft springs from a bouquet of leaves, apparently those of the acanthus. The shaft is deeply fluted in its lower part, and modelled above into the bust of a woman with an Egyptian head-dress; the bust has arms which are folded on the chest and

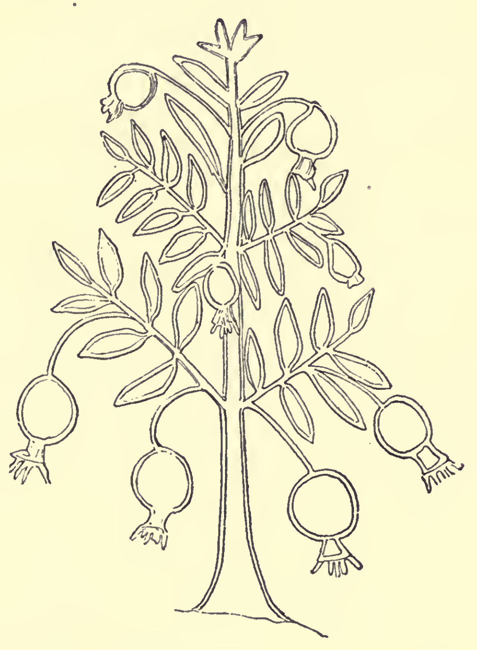


FIG. 59.—Detail from Carthaginian stele. French National Library.

support the disk and crescent; on the head a globe between two horns.

The composition of the whole member is skilful and pleasing. The acanthus-leaves provide a happy transition between the circular base and the rectangular shaft above it, while the vertical

brought to France and given to the Louvre by the Abbé Trihidez, chaplain to the expeditionary force in Tunis; of some of those left behind the Abbé made sketches, while the finest of all seems to have been carried off by Daux in 1869. In spite of all his efforts M. Berger could not discover what had become of all these. According to the Abbé Trihidez, about sixty steles were found altogether, most of them repeating the same motives.

grooves explain the crowning motive, and prepare us for it; they may, in fact, be looked at either as purely architectonic decorations or as the vertical folds of a robe from which the bust is supposed to spring. The mind hesitates for a moment between these two explanations, and even in that hesitation there is something agreeable. The suppleness of the living form is thus allied to the rigid lines of the architecture with much greater skill than in another Carthaginian stele, on which the same female bust appears surmounting an Ionic cap (Vol. I. Fig. 16).

The entablature is worthy of the column. It has for architrave a decorated band of flowers and lotus-buds. The frieze is filled up entirely with a huge winged globe flanked by the uræus. The

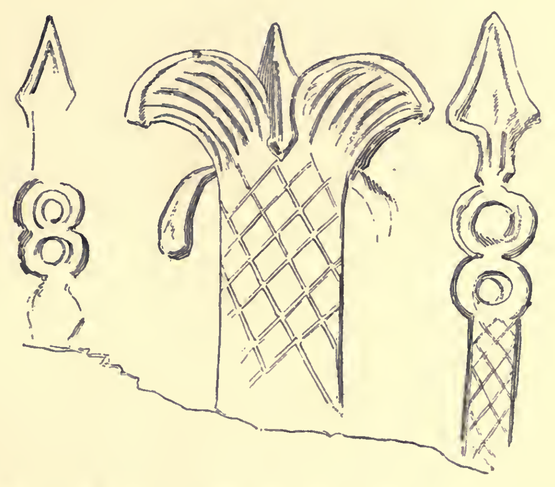


FIG. 60.—Details from Carthaginian stele. French National Library.

very bold cornice is made up of uræi, each bearing on its head a disk surrounded by a ring. Higher still there is a last member which the bad condition of the stone makes it very difficult to define; it seems to be a row of rosettes. The top of the stele is broken off: it must in all probability have been a triangular pediment.

The general physiognomy is very Egyptian. The rich entablature does not contain a single motive that might not have been learnt from Egypt, while the capitals were certainly suggested by the Hathoric capitals of the Nile valley. But the architect has made use of these foreign motives without losing his own freedom. Where Egypt is content to put the head of a woman he puts her

torso, while he takes from some Grecian work the garland of leaves and the ample base which give the lower part of his shaft such a non-Egyptian richness. In their skilful combination of these foreign motives and in a certain graceful unexpectedness of their own, these columns do great honour to their Phœnician creator—nowhere else do we get a better chance of studying the action of the Phœnician genius on the rare occasions when it combined invention with imitation. Imagine what an original and imposing effect rows of columns like these would have if

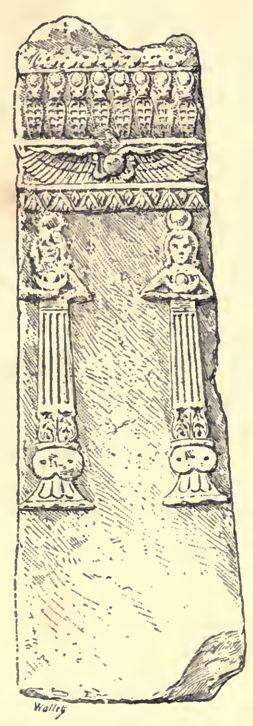


FIG. 61.—Stele from Adrumetum. Limestone. Height 28 inches. Louvre.

repeated on the façade and perhaps the sides of a temple. It is difficult to admit that such a happy arrangement can have been imagined by the carver of the stele; may we not suggest that he copied some part of the temple in which these votive monuments were placed?

On several of the steles from Adrumetum nothing is figured but a vase or pitcher, always without a handle. The Louvre possesses one of which the field is divided into two compartments by a quadruple fillet (Fig. 62); the lower half bears two caducei;

the upper, the aforesaid pitcher. Above the latter there is a double fillet and a triangular pediment with the disk and crescent. We should like to know whether this caduceus was borrowed from

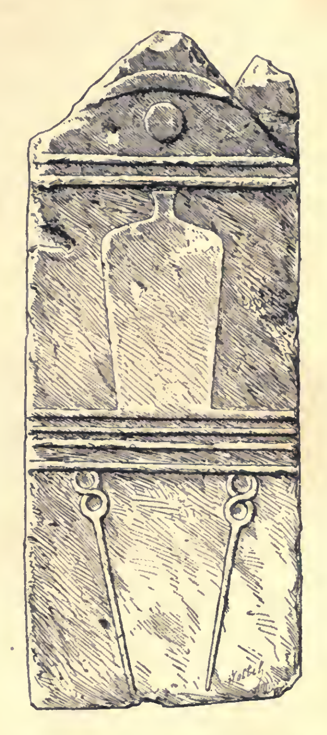


FIG. 62.—Stele from Adrumetum. Height 19¼ inches. Louvre.

the Greeks and their Hermes, or whether it is a relic of some far older eastern god. The caduceus is no uncommon object on Carthaginian steles,[1] and here we reproduce a token or counter



FIG. 63.—Terra-cotta token. Actual size. In the St. Louis Museum at Carthage.

(Fig. 63), on which it appears beside a bull's head and the cone of Tanit. This little object was found in the same place as the steles of which we have been speaking.

[1] BERGER, *Les Ex-voto, &c.*, pp. 24-25.

Lastly, on some of these monuments we find an emblem encountered in Sardinia (Vol. I. Fig. 174), and on the stele of Lilybæum (*Ib.* Fig. 232), namely, three cippi of unequal height on a single base, the middle one being the highest. In this we have in all probability a symbolical representation of one of those triads into which Phœnicia divided the chief members of her Pantheon. In one instance the pedestal on which the group stands is crowned by the Egyptian cornice, an arrangement already noticed in a stele from Sardinia (*Ib.* Fig. 233)

The steles of Adrumetum carry us back to a period beyond that in which the Carthaginian sculptors did nothing but imitate forms



FIG. 64.—Terra-cotta mask. Height 9⅝ inches. Louvre.

invented by the Greeks, but a still more distant age is recalled by an object now in the Louvre, which was found in the reservoirs of El-Malka, to the west of Byrsa (Fig. 64). "This mask of painted terra-cotta bears witness to the influence so long exercised by Egypt over Phœnicia. The general type of the head is the same as that on the lids of the mummy cases; there is the same wig with its plaited ends falling to the shoulders. The modelling, however, lacks something of the Egyptian firmness and betrays a little of the Asiatic naturalism. This curious object is certainly descended from the masks placed on the dead in the Nile valley, examples of which have also been found in the ancient tombs of

Mycenæ. However, as it is only half the size of life, and as there are three suspension holes at the top of it and two more on each side, it must have been a votive offering or emblem. It is an ancient relic from a custom followed in Cyprus, in Greece, and in Italy; in the latter countries it was continued in the use of Bacchic *oscilla* and tomb masks until it degenerated at last into the employment of those coarse sepulchral masks of the Græco-Parthian epoch which have been found in the Babylonian tombs.[1] The British Museum possesses two terra-cotta masks from Sardinia which are also, in all probability, Phœnician; one shows a female head with an Egyptian wig, the other a grimacing head not in the least like the comic type of the Greeks.

"It is not easy to decide to which sex our Carthaginian mask belongs. The ear lobe is pierced for a ring, while in the upper edge of the same organ there are three more holes . . . . in accordance with a common oriental custom which still survives in India. On the other hand, a deep groove is drawn across the cheeks at the line where the beard usually begins. The painter has, indeed, paid no attention to this line, but the red tint with which he has covered the whole face is that which was used to denote virility in the Egyptian system; hair and eyebrows are put in in black."[2]

This mask, the most careful piece of work left to us by Punic modellers, brings us back to the point from which we started; we are again at the period when Phœnician art had not yet come under any foreign influence but that of the two ancient empires of the East. All that remains to be done is to give a *résumé* of the facts we have been considering, a task which is all the more necessary because we have not as in Egypt, Chaldæa and Assyria, encountered any of those creations of the first order which leave a strong and ineffaceable impression on the memory of the reader.

[1] Heuzey, *Catalogue*, Nos. 168-182.

[2] Heuzey, *Catalogue*, pp. 58-59. Longpérier was the first to point out the interest and importance of this monument, which he first saw in a photograph sent home to him from Tunis by M. de Villefosse (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1874, pp. 206-208).

§ 7. *Summary of the History oj Phœnician Sculpture.*

We should have liked to bring a far greater number of Phœnician monuments together than we have been able to collect. The gaps in the series are many and wide, but in spite of scanty materials we must do our best to define the character of Phœnician art, to estimate its value, and to point out the different phases through which it passed.

The Phœnician artist laboured under an initial disadvantage through the very bad quality of the stone in which his first attempts were made. The coarse tufa of his country was not to be compared for a moment with the fine limestone of middle Egypt, or even with the yielding alabaster of Assyria, which so tempted the sculptor's chisel by its docility, still less could it be compared to the splendid marbles cut by the Greeks from the inexhaustible quarries of Paros and Pentelicus.

Another condition of inferiority is to be found in the supercession of the Egyptian schenti by the long robe. Familiarity with the nude is the first necessity for great sculpture; the interest it awakens, the ambition it stimulates, the necessity it imposes for studying the ruling lines and movements of the most perfect and complex of living things, are the foundations of all plastic perfection.

One or two schools of sculpture may, no doubt, be quoted which made singularly happy use of the draped figure and especially of the human countenance, without having gone through this experience; such a school was that of Tuscany in the early renaissance, but such a school was not that of Phœnicia. The Phœnician artist never looked at nature closely enough to discover the individual. Egypt excelled in portraiture, but not only has Phœnicia left us nothing we can call a portrait, she did not always succeed even in clearly marking the race characteristics. Egypt has pictured for us not only the distinctive features of her own people but also the hereditary types of all the nations by whom she was surrounded; the Assyrian sculptors did not aim so high, but at least they succeeded in fixing the national traits of their own people. The Phœnicians made no such attempt; we may search in vain among the bas-reliefs, the statues, the terra-cottas, the engraved stones, which make up their plastic legacy; we shall not succeed

in disengaging the lineaments of any definable type. On a few isolated objects features appear which seem to be characteristic of the race, but then again we are thrown back into doubt by others in which little or nothing of the kind is to be seen. We know how the Phœnicians were dressed, but we should find it difficult to say whether their noses were hooked or straight, whether their mouths were large or small, and by what peculiarity of visage they were distinguished in the markets of Europe from their Greek, Latin, and Etruscan rivals.

This vagueness of form is to be explained by the fact that Phœnician art never went directly and sincerely to nature in the whole course of its activity. Its eyes were always fixed upon foreign arts, upon those productions of an alien race which might happen to be in vogue for the moment. The terra-cottas will help us to form a true idea as to the order in which those influences succeeded each other. Statuettes in this material are numerous compared with the remains of sculpture in stone; they form series which are less incomplete and therefore give far better materials for comparison.[1]

The people of Arvad, of Gebal, of Tyre and Sidon, were the vassals of Egypt when it was governed by the great Theban dynasties; many of their people were settled in the Nile valley, and Egyptian works of art must have been common on the Syrian coast, where they must have served as models for the native workmen. But, so far as we know, not a single specimen has come down to us from those distant ages. Some day, perhaps, we may find relics of the time when Phœnicia was an art-province of Egypt; at present the oldest clay figures we possess are those in which an Assyrian example may be traced. The influence is clear, and yet there is no doubt as to their native character. They were all found in Phœnicia, while both in quality of paste and in choice of type they may be plainly distinguished from similar things produced in Mesopotamia.

Nowhere is the influence to which we allude more conspicuous than in the war-chariot reproduced in Fig. 145 of our first volume.

[1] In the whole of this inquiry into the style of the Phœnician terra-cottas we shall follow M. HEUZEY step by step. In his *Catalogue* he has studied them with minute care and the most penetrating sagacity, and has arrived at opinions as to the influence of archaic Greek art upon the art of Phœnicia which we cordially endorse. We refer any reader who may wish to study the question more closely to the pregnant pages in which M. Heuzey sets forth his views.

"When it was intact, this four-horse chariot must have contained four warriors, but the two front figures, the master of the chariot and his driver, have been broken away; one of the armed servants at the back has also had his head broken off, so that there is only one complete figure left. Type of head and costume are almost wholly Assyrian; aquiline nose, long, crimped beard, conical helmet with fixed chin-strap from under which two long tresses appear; the dagger passed through the girdle, the tasselled harness, the arrangement of the car with the lion protecting its rear, all remind us of the war-chariots sculptured on the walls of Assyrian palaces." [1]

We find the same peculiarities in a little flat-backed figure which may, perhaps, have been intended to form part of one of these



FIG. 65.—Terra-cotta statuette. Louvre. Height 4 inches.

chariot groups (Fig. 65). "This little personage is bearded; his countenance is what we call Semitic in type. He wears a kind of conical hat or turban . . . . his dress consists of two garments one over the other, both open at the chest and with wide borders. Open robes analogous, like this, to the modern Syrian *Aba*, are reserved on the Ninevite reliefs to certain Asiatic populations which were subject to the Assyrian kings." [2]

The same features, less carefully made out, are to be recognized in another statuette belonging to the Louvre, in which we see a standing figure, bearded and wearing a conical hat (Fig. 66). "He

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 66-67 (No. 187).
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 67-68 (No. 189).

is dressed in a long robe doubled over just below the waist. With his right hand, on the wrist of which he wears a spiral bracelet, he presses a patera against his left side ; his left hand hangs down by his side." [1]

Finally we must put the figure of a god seated between two rams, in whom we have recognized Baal-Hammon, in the



FIG. 66.—Terra-cotta statuette in the Louvre. Height 12 inches.

same group (Vol. I. Fig. 140).[2] The statuettes which betray Assyrian influence are far from primitive in character ; they must have been preceded by rougher works now all lost ; they show great technical skill on the part of their makers ; " the

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 68-69 (No. 191). [2] *Ibid.* p. 65.

paste is apt to split, owing to imperfect firing, but they are often, as in the war-chariots, very complex in their designs; some parts are modelled with the fingers and stuck on, others are cut out with a sharp instrument, but the human figures are shaped in a mould and are hollow. A distinctive feature of the series is the rendering of details of hair, beard, and ornament, by lines lightly engraved with the point. Another detail should be noticed: the eyes are either horizontal or slightly drooped at the outer corners instead of being drawn up towards the temples." [1]

The statuettes in which the influence of Egypt may perhaps be recognized are flat at the back, hollow, and thin in their walls, features that do not suggest any great antiquity. Moreover, the maker of these latter figures follows his model less closely, as if he had learnt to trust more to his own ideas and to interpret the religious conceptions of the people for whom he worked in a more independent spirit. No detail is borrowed all-standing from Egypt; we are simply allowed to feel that the creations of Egyptian sculptors were known to the Syrian artist and that he endeavoured to put some of their nobility into his own work. "The engraved lines mentioned above do not reappear on the smooth skin of these later figures. Such retouches as are used to add definition to a feature or to heighten an ornament are put in with a brushful of red or black paint. The softness of the handling gives a look of distinction very far removed from primitive rudeness; we are allowed to divine the presence, in the background, of a more perfect art. The proportions of the face in particular, with its long horizontal eyes, its large, thin, and but slightly salient nose, its mouth and chin so small when compared with the features above them, belong to the graceful type brought into fashion by the art of the Saïte dynasties." [2]

This group of figures, which some have proposed to call *pseudo-Egyptian*, is composed entirely by variations on a single motive, namely, a woman seated on a throne. As a rule, however, the forms are so roughly indicated that we have some difficulty in discovering whether the figure stands or sits. Its distinctive feature is always the Egyptian head-dress (Vol. I. Figs. 143 and 144).[3] The chief modification is the enlargement of its mass

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 69-70.
[3] *Ibid.* Nos. 192-195, and plate vi. in the folio *les Figurines antiques du Musée du Louvre.*

over the temples, a change which was due to local taste, although its point of departure is to be found in some of the Egyptian statuettes. An excellent example of the class is to be seen in the figure, unfortunately broken, of a woman striking a tambourine (Fig 67). The long horizontal eyes, and the thin, slightly aquiline nose, take up most of the face, leaving but little room for a remarkably small mouth and delicate chin.

But this series was not the only representative of Egyptian art in Phœnicia. There is the beautiful little figure from Sardinia reproduced a few pages back (Fig. 49), as well as two important groups on which we have already had occasion to dwell ; the first gives a Phœnician rendering of the queer and grimacing little



Fig. 67.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 5⅝ inches. Louvre.

god Bes (Figs. 21, 141, 294) ; the second does the same for the embryonic Ptah (Figs. 22, 27 178).

" Side by side with the flagrant imitations of the Assyrian and Egyptian styles which we have just been noticing, there appears in the cemeteries of northern Phœnicia a third class of statuettes made of the same clay but in a style derived neither from Egypt nor Assyria, if we put aside a few traditional details of attitude and costume. These objects have, in fact, so much in common with the primitive archaism of Greece that the two are difficult to separate.

" The distinctive features of the series are a straight and salient nose, a mouth very high up the face, and a large square chin.

The oldest of these figures are even ruder, squarer in their forms and more obviously primitive, than the imitative types in the two first series; add to this that they show a curious desire to get a laugh and to draw the corners of the eyes up towards the temples, which are entirely absent from the series before described.

" In some details of costume and, especially, in the hieratic stiffness of these little figures, we may recognize the persistence of ideas dating from the schools of Egypt and Mesopotamia; but these same traditions are to be found in the archaic art of Greece, and yet they do not destroy its vigorous originality.

" Moreover it is not long before graceful methods of arranging the hair and of wearing drapery, quite unknown to the art of Egypt and the East, but common with the Greeks and chiefly with the Ionians of Asia Minor make their appearance. And although the material of these figures is identical with that of the pseudo-Assyrian and pseudo-Egyptian statuettes, their technique is different enough. They are hollow castings, without detached pieces or retouches with the point; while the bases of the preceding series are widely opened, those of that now under discussion are closed all but a small air-hole, which is made, apparently, by the workman with the handle of his modelling tool. Drapery is nearly always painted, generally in purple and pale green, but these colours, being laid directly upon the fired clay, are greatly faded." [1]

We have already shown our readers a considerable number of statuettes in which these features occur (Vol. I. Figs. 20, 25, 142, and Figs. 23, 47, 48); here are two more, one from each of the two classes into which this group may be divided.

The first class consists of seated figures. The attitude of the body is much more clearly indicated than in figures of the Egyptian style; the thrones are stepped and often have arms which stand out beyond the person seated between them (Fig. 23). Sometimes the latter will hold a dove in one of his hands (Vol. I. Fig. 20); elsewhere the arms are placed upon the knees, as in an unusually well preserved statuette from Amrit (Fig. 68).[2] The head is covered with a high cylindrical hat from which lappets hang down over the shoulders. These elevated head-dresses belonged in the first instance to the queens and goddesses of the East, but they were soon appropriated by the early artists of Greece and used under the

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 82-84. [2] *Ibid.* No. 202.

names of *polos* and *kidaris*, to indicate certain members of the Hellenic pantheon ;[1] some other figures of the same kind and from the same place have nothing on their heads but a narrow cap with a veil wrapped about it, making them into huge balls.[2]

"The other series begins with standing female figures, the arms hanging down at the sides, the hands closed, the feet placed one before the other (Fig. 69). These are moulded in two pieces and

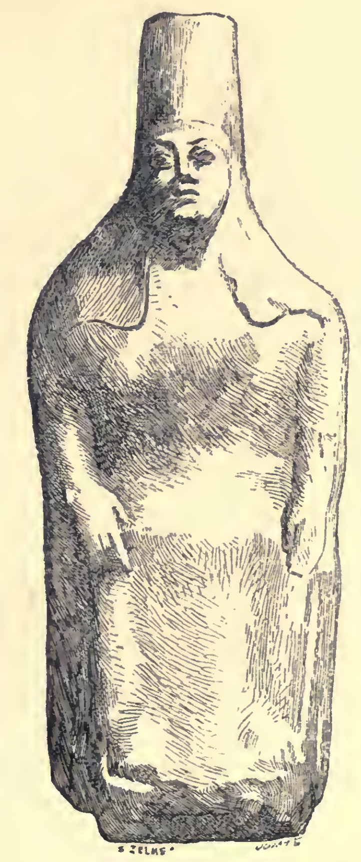


FIG. 68.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 7⅝ inches. Louvre.

well worked on both faces. The general contours are almost identical with those of the Egyptian sepulchral statuettes, but the details of the modelling are very different and their art more advanced.

[1] This same head-dress may be recognized on a relief figured above (Fig. 9), where it is worn by prisoners on their way to Assyria, probably from the Persian Gulf.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, No. 203-205.

The hair falls on the back in a thick mass ; it is crimpled horizontally, like the Egyptian wig ; in front, however, it is divided into four long tresses, after the manner of the Ionians. The drapery consists of a tunic and a small purple mantle with a band of light green, the latter fastened on the left shoulder and falling diagonally across the body, as on archaic Greek statues. The lower edge of the robe spreads out and embraces the small square

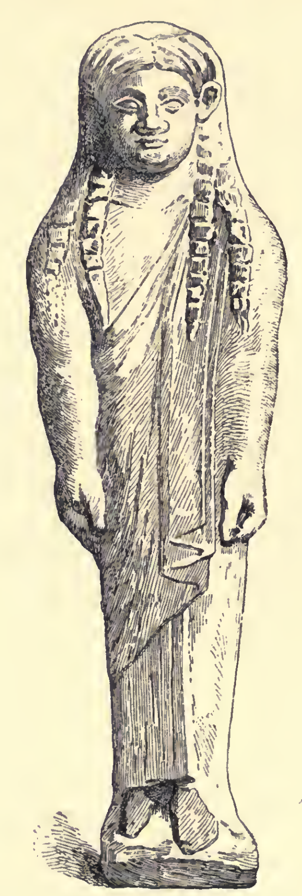


FIG. 69.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 9½ inches. Louvre.

base. The closed and pointed shoes, also coloured purple, are those known as Persian shoes in Greece." [1]

The type of early Greek archaism may be traced still more clearly in some statuettes already mentioned (Vol. I. Fig. 142). These, too, are figures of standing women draped in a peplos doubled round the waist and a finely plaited tunic. Their waving

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 88, and Nos. 206-208.

hair falls in long curls divided in front and brought together at the neck. In one hand they hold a dove against their bosom, with the other they support the skirts of their drapery, a pose reserved for young and beautiful divinities in early Greek art, and especially for Aphrodite. One of these figures, the one, in fact, we have reproduced, has an opening at the top, which, with its hollow inside and closed base, makes it a true *alabastron*.

We have made up these series by the help of the statuettes found in northern Phœnicia; we could not hope to find their elements at Tyre or Sidon. It is a curious thing that no terra-cotta figurines to speak of were obtained from all the excavations of M. Renan. The only things of the kind he found were heads, torsos, hands and feet, and small fragments which could not be joined together. Only one statuette could be restored in any considerable degree, and that was without arms.[1] How is the difference to be explained? Is it due merely to the fact that antiquity as a whole is better preserved in the Arvadite district than in those parts in which the population has never ceased to be dense and has always lived at the expense of the past? or perhaps the art of modelling in clay was less cultivated at Tyre and Sidon than in the northern kingdom. These two cities were much nearer Egypt, where glazed earthenware was always more popular than terra-cotta. Sidon imported glass-making from Egypt, and enamel is nothing more than a layer of coloured glass; it is therefore possible that the artisans of the two greatest Phœnician cities confined themselves more or less to the production of statuettes covered with a white, green, or blue glaze, after the Egyptian fashion. In the north they were within easier reach both of Assyria and Rhodes, and the latter was one of the first places from which original ceramic works were turned out by Grecian artists. However this may have been, the terra-cottas of Tyre and Sidon appear to have been far ruder than those of northern Phœnicia at least as late as the century of Alexander. In the fragments by which alone they are now represented careful study has revealed the influence both of Egypt and Greece. Nothing clearly Assyrian in origin has yet been discovered, but any day may supply the want.[2]

So far we have managed to divide the life of Phœnician art into three phases, into three successive movements, but as yet we have

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, No. 227 and plate xii. fig. 3. [2] *Ibid.* p. 94.

made no attempt to assign those movements to their proper centuries. In such a matter there can be no question of a precise date, but all we know, whether from history or the monuments, goes to prove that Phœnicia did not come under the influence of Assyrian art until the end of the eighth century; it was in the first half of the seventh century that she really became a province of the Sargonids. It was a little later, towards the end of the same century and in the course of the next, that the style of Egypt recovered its vogue; our readers will remember what renewed glory the various Pharaohs known as Psammeticus and Amasis threw over the Nile kingdom. Lastly, it was at about the same time, that is from the end of the sixth to the end of the fifth century, that Phœnician modellers set themselves to imitate the types of the new art then springing up in the island of Rhodes and in the Doric and Ionian cities of Asia Minor. It must not be thought, however, that during any one of these periods Phœnician art was content to draw its inspiration from a single source. In the oldest monuments of lapidary sculpture, on the coast as well as in the interior of Syria, we have found a mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic elements. It was always so down to the final triumph of that Greek art which was to become, under the heirs of Alexander, the art of the whole civilized world. Until this revolution was accomplished the Phœnician artisans remained faithful to their eclectic principles; they took wherever they found them such types and motives as they thought would please the nations with whom they traded. In the sixth or fifth century, while one workshop was turning out statuettes more or less inspired by Egyptian taste, another would be busy imitating the archaic work of Greece.

The statuettes belonging to this latter class are by far the most interesting of them all.

" The types comprised in this group are found at many points on the Mediterranean basin, and they are almost identical not only in style and design, but also in make and substance. Strangely enough, however, they are absolutely wanting in Cyprus, even in that great deposit at Kition where figures of the pseudo-Egyptian series were found in such numbers. On the other hand, they are to be frequently met with in the countries which possessed old Greek colonies, and especially in Rhodes, where figures of this kind and vases painted in the local style formed the mass of the booty collected from the graveyard of Cameiros. Specimens of

the same class have been found in Samos, and in Greece ; the ancient terra-cottas from Megara belong to the same family without being absolutely similar. A considerable number have been found in Sicily, chiefly among the tombs in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. Lastly, they have been encountered at Cumæ, in Apulia, and even in the Etruscan sepulchres."[1]

The problem thus set is one of the gravest and most complex with which the historian of art has to deal. M. Heuzey gives the following solution of it. "Those archæologists who believe that the archaic style of Greece was taken directly from Phœnician workshops, could not fail to point in triumph to the facts just rehearsed. Not only do they contend that this wide diffusion of a single type was due to the spread of Phœnician navigation ; they say also that the presence in early Hellenic sculpture of characteristics peculiar to this series of terra-cotta figures, is proof of direct borrowing on the part of Hellenic artists from what they call the Phœnician type. Now before we can adopt their reasoning we must admit that Phœnician art had a third epoch, an epoch full of originality and creation ; that after having passed from mediocre imitations of the style of Egypt to equally poor ones of the style of Assyria, Phœnicia ended by creating a new and truly national style of her own. To me such an hypothesis seems quite inadmissible, and all the facts above recited point to an opposite conclusion.

"Frankly, this last series of Phœnician statuettes seems to me to derive from archaic Greek art, from Greek art as it flourished in the colonies of Asia Minor in the sixth century, that is, from an art not yet free from oriental elements, but already master of its principles and betraying an original force which left no room for doubt as to its future. From this time onward the Phœnicians bowed before the new art, especially when the Persian conquest came to unite them to the Greeks of Asia as subjects of a single power. They imported the products of Greek industry, and imitated them in their own workshops. Thus in Syria was formed a Græco-Phœnician style whose introduction to the country took place, in our opinion, long before Alexander's conquest of the East, a style whose traces are to be found in other things besides these terra cotta statuettes."[2]

The same idea and the same conjecture had already been

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 84. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 84-85.

suggested to us by our study of the marble anthropoid sarcophagi; in most of those the style of execution seemed to us to be derived from that of the Ægina pediments. We may say as much of the female mask which once formed part of a terra-cotta sarcophagus (Vol. I. Fig. 130). It is made of the same earth as the statuettes, but is less ancient. The figurines date from the beginning of the sixth century, and show that the products of Greek art, or at least pasticcios upon them, were then beginning to compete successfully with those of schools inspired by Egypt and Assyria.

It might be objected to the theory we have adopted, that the habits of the Phœnicians would be broken in upon and their ideas upset by this wholesale borrowing of types created by a foreign race. Such an objection would be ill-founded. "When they imported the statues of Greek goddesses, and reproduced them in their own workshops, the Phœnicians never hesitated to identify them with their own national deities. Both peoples had been long accustomed to such interchanges, which were caused sometimes by superficial similarities, but not seldom by real historical affinities. Not a few of these little idols were Oriental in origin, and had only half lost their Eastern character, so that they easily found their places in Asiatic shrines. Heracles was identified with Melkart, Aphrodite with Astarte and also with Baaltis, who, by her connection with Adonis had contributed to endow Aphrodite with the funerary *rôle* she plays in the sepulchral terra cottas. The antique polytheism had a common basis, and the beliefs which sprang out of it were wide enough and vague enough to lend themselves to all kinds of comparisons and exchanges, which were, indeed among the commonplaces of the international life of the time."[1]

In the sequel of this history, readers will find the proofs we cannot offer them here. When we come to study the oldest Greek statuettes, and especially those of Rhodes, we shall recognize an original art which even while developing itself in an atmosphere strongly impregnated with Oriental tradition, had its own way, and that a new and very personal way, of looking at and interpreting nature. The observations to which such an examination will lead, may perhaps, have the result of making us accept as proved an assertion which as yet only presents itself as a likely hypothesis. Its plausibility is already increased, however, by the induction to which an attentive reader must have been brought by the facts

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 90.

exposed in the foregoing pages. In all that remains of Phœnician sculpture and architecture, have we found anything to suggest that the Phœnicians were capable of those efforts of invention, of those sallies of taste, which give birth to a new art? Thus we know that the sculptors both of Egypt and Assyria dressed their figures, but neither the one nor the other ever thought of making use of the movement and play of drapery; it never occurred to them to enhance their lights by contrast with the rich shadows thrown by deep and cleverly arranged folds. We shall have some difficulty in believing without positive proof, that it is to a nation of born imitators like the Phœnicians that the world owes the beautiful and varied effects obtained by this simple means.



CHAPTER II.

CYPRUS AND CYPRIOT SCULPTURE.

§ 1.—*The Situation, Soil and Climate of the Island.*

Cyprus (Κύπρος with the Greeks, *Kibris* with the Turks) is the most eastern of all the Mediterranean islands. It is the third in size, being excelled only by Sicily and Sardinia. It lies in a kind of deep pocket, its northern and eastern coasts being at about equal distances, respectively, from Cilicia and Syria. Its northern shores, however, are much more rocky and inhospitable than those that face south and east, so that we may say the island fronted Syria and was destined by nature to receive its early inhabitants and first lessons in civilization from that country. The chief port is now Larnaca, close upon the site of the ancient Kition, about twelve hours steaming from Alexandretta, the best port on the Syrian Coast, and only seven from Tripoli. The form of the island is peculiar. The ancients compared it to a fleece spread out upon the ground, but their ideas of the shapes even of the countries they knew best were very inaccurate. Herr Von Loeher's comparison to a ham is less dignified but much more exact.[1] However, the contour of the island is of less importance than the nature of its surface and the arrangement of its mountains, plains and rivers.

From this point of view Cyprus is divided into three well-marked districts of an equal size and fertility. In the centre there is a great plain, the *Mesoria*, whose situation may be guessed from its name (μέσον-ὄρος). The streams by which it is watered flow, some eastwards to the Gulf of Salamis, others westwards to the bay

[1] VON LOEHER, *Cypern, Reiseherichte nach natur und Landschaft, valk und Geschichte*, 1 vol. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1878.

on which Soloi formerly stood. Of the two basins thus formed that of the Pediaios, now Pidias, which is from twelve to fifteen miles across at its widest, and about thirty-five miles long is by far the most important. This plain was called *ἡ μακαρία*, the happy, by the ancients, and all who know it unite in lauding its fertility and the beauty of its vegetation. Both in colour and chemical composition the alluvial mud deposited by the floods of the Pediaios resembles that spread over Egypt by the Nile. In some places the layer of soil thus accumulated is as much as from twenty to thirty feet thick, while even at the foot of the hills it is deep enough for all agricultural purposes. But in order to make the best use of such a treasure both labour and foresight are necessary, and in modern times neither the one nor the other has been forthcoming. No attempt has been made to store the winter rain or to direct the course of the water, so that during one part of the year the fields suffer from the violent and capricious flow of the mountain torrents, and during another from the extremity of drought.

This great plain with its lateral shoots occupies almost half of the island. The rest is covered by two mountain chains of very different appearance. That in the north is no more than a long ridge of jurassic limestone, rising little above three thousand feet at its higher points. On its northern side, where it faces the snowy peaks of Cilicia, it is precipitous, often falling sheer into the sea. There are, however, a few havens where vessels of small tonnage, such as caiques and feluccas, may find a shelter. One of these is still known under its ancient name of Kerynia or Kerinioios. But even in antiquity, when the prosperity and population of the island were very different from what they have been under Turkish rule, the whole of this northern coast was without a single town of any importance; Lapethus, Kerynia, Aphrodision, Carpasia, fishing towns which lived by the produce of the neighbouring seas, were all it could boast. And yet during the whole of the antique period there must have been a very active movement of passengers through the narrow sea dividing the island from Asia Minor; practically the shortest route to the Cyprian shrines lay through Tarsus and one of the ports on the straits of Cilicia.

The second mountain chain is much more extensive, much loftier and much more complex in its arrangement than the first. Igneous rocks predominate in the upper parts and on its northern flanks, while the southern slopes are composed of tertiary lime-

stones and marly strata. Its ramifications extend over the whole south and south-west of the island ; it is in the latter district that the main summit, the mount Troodos of which the Olympus of the ancients was but a spur, rises to a height of between six and seven thousand feet. Many summits in its neighbourhood are nearly as high, but none of them have been measured with any exactitude. The flanks of this southern chain descend to the valley in gentle slopes, leaving much space to the cultivator. In many places the spurs of Olympus fall easily to the sea leaving wide land-bays of fertile earth on which man has long found himself at his ease.



FIG. 70.—Map of Cyprus.[1]

The most famous cities of antiquity were situated in this region, Kition, Amathos, Curion, the old and the new Paphos. Even now prosperous and well-peopled villages stud the coast. The light and pebbly soil of these southern slopes is marvellously well adapted for the vine.

The climate of Cyprus varies greatly according to the season. A third of the year, from the middle of October to the end

[1] This map has been compiled from those of M. KIEPERT, one in the new edition of his *Atlas von Hellas*, and another published in 1878 as *a New and Original Map of the Island of Cyprus* (Reimer).

of February, is very wet; the rains sometimes fall as in the tropics, for several days at a time. After their cessation comes a season whose brilliance, freshness, and general charm have left a deep impression on all who have travelled over the Cyprian plains between the beginning of March and the middle of June. In June the rains finally cease and for four months there is sometimes not a single shower. The heat is then terrific, especially in the great central plain, whence the sea-breezes are excluded by the barrier of mountains.[1] This season is said to be hotter in central Cyprus than in lower Egypt, at Nicosia than at Cairo. The heat of the Nile valley is tempered by the abundant evaporation from the river and by the current of air which blows along its banks. Here there is nothing of the kind; even the north wind is rendered dry and hot by its passage over the arid plateau of Asia Minor; those from the south and east are still more completely deprived of moisture and freshness by their passage over the deserts of Syria and Africa. During these months therefore the whole country is like an oven; no water flows in the river beds; the springs are dried up; except in a few narrow valleys all herbaceous plants are drooping and yellowed; even the great trees hang their boughs and relax their grasp on their reddened leaves. Men, vegetables, animals, every living thing dies of thirst; all business is transacted in early morning and late evening. At high noon there is nothing but sleep; all nature waits and pants for the first storms of autumn.

In antiquity this insufferable heat was tempered by a higher cultivation and by the existence of vast forests. All ancient writers agree in saying that Cyprus was grandly wooded.[2] But now hardly anything is left of her wealth of trees. Here, as all over the East, man has miserably wasted this part of his capital. To make a little clearing he would burn a forest, and the destruction begun by fire would be completed by the teeth of countless goats and by the clouds of locusts which settled periodically on the island. In ancient times the successive masters of Cyprus must have protected the forests; they must have issued such orders as those of which traces were found by M. Renan in the Lebanon, in the districts of Akoura and Kartaba, edicts which reserved to the government the right to fell the four most valuable

[1] MARTIAL speaks of "Infamem nimio calore Cyprum" (ix. 92).

[2] STRABO, XVI. vi. 5. THEOPHRASTUS, *History of Plants*, v. 8.

kinds of trees.[1] Without some precautions of the kind it would have been difficult to insure a supply of the timber necessary for the masting and sparring of ships, for the roofing and flooring of houses; and Cyprus was famous for her dockyards and for the excellence of the timber she put into her work.[2] When the Ptolemies made such efforts to conquer her and to hold her against the Seleucidæ it was because they had need of her forests for the construction of those fleets on which their supremacy in the Levant depended. In later times the Lusignans were great builders; for more than a century they raised castles and palaces and those Gothic churches whose ruins give a western look to so many Cypriot towns. In all these there were massive timber constructions, like those of our middle-age architects, of which the materials must have been grown in Cyprus itself.

And the value of these forests was immensely increased by their situation in an island. Difficulties of transport made all antique quarries and timber forests that lay far both from a water way and from any site on which those materials could be employed, of very little use.

Ancient Cyprus was famous for its cedars, its cypresses, its walnuts, and its planes. The cedar has disappeared, the cypress is hardly to be met with out of gardens, but both the plane and the walnut still flourish.

All those travellers who have visited the island in spring agree in saying that nowhere in the whole basin of the Mediterranean is the ground covered with a more luxuriant growth of shrubs and wild flowers. Violets and anemones, the hyacinth, the narcissus, the crocus, the different kinds of tulip, spring up with a splendour and variety of colour that we westerns can equal only by careful cultivation. Shrubs such as the agnus-castus, the myrtle, the arbutus, and above all, the rose, the blossom born of the soil fertilized by the blood of the Syrian Adonis, also flourish. Aphrodite carried her favourite flower into her native island, and the roses of Cyprus were renowned throughout all antiquity. Even

[1] *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 259-281. The complete formula is ARBORUM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA; as a rule it is abridged.

[2] AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (XIV. 27), in boasting of the natural wealth of Cyprus, says that a great ship could be built there "from truck to keelson," without going outside the island for any of the necessary materials. Even an abundant supply of tar was to be obtained from its pine forests. According to THEOPHRASTUS (*Hist. of Plants*, v. 9), the cedars of Cyprus were larger than those of Lebanon.

now, while the graceful buds of the eglantine are allowed to spread their delicate scent over the fields, the rose is cultivated in the gardens of the rich Moslems, who are great lovers of horticulture. The ancients call Cyprus the sweet-smelling island (*εὐώδης*), and there Homer made the graces anoint the limbs of their mistress with a scented oil, while they steeped their own garments in the vapours exhaled by the spring flowers.[1]

The island possessed several plants from which the materials for a profitable trade could be extracted. From one of these it seems to have taken the name by which it is still known. The shrub called *kopper* by the Hebrews, was named by the Greeks kypros (*κύπρος*), a word formed of the same elements,[2] and in it, by the help of the descriptions given by Pliny and Diodorus, the plant called *el hanna* by the Arabs has been recognised. *El hanna*, or the *henna* plant, is the *Lawsonia alba* of botanists. A valuable scent is obtained from its flowers by boiling them in oil, while its leaves give that greenish powder which is offered for sale in every bazaar of the Levant. Prepared in various ways, this powder serves to dye horses' manes, tails, and hoofs yellow, to colour the nails, lips, eyelids, and hair of women, and, when mixed with lampblack, to lengthen their eyebrows, and enhance the size and brilliancy of their eyes. In all this the harems of Cairo, Damascus, and Stamboul, do no more than continue the traditions of Memphis and Thebes, of Babylon and Nineveh, of Ecbatana and Susa.

The henna plant is common also in Egypt and Syria, as the Semitic origin of its Greek name is enough to prove; but Cyprus had the credit of enjoying the monopoly of another product of the same kind, namely, the *ledanum* or *ladanum*, to whose curative properties there is allusion in Herodotus.[3] This substance comes from a plant which is to be found elsewhere than in Cyprus, as its name (*Cistus creticus*) is enough to prove. Upon more than one mountain in Crete, and in other islands of the Archipelago, I have seen hill slopes covered with its red flowers. Each root forms a small shrub, which often reaches about three feet in height. The

[1] *Odyssey*, viii. 362-366.

[2] It might be suggested that this identity between the name of a plant and that of a metal, copper, is owing to the fact that the colouring principle obtained from the leaves of the *Lawsonia alba* gives a coppery tint to the skin. It would be difficult to decide, however, whether copper or henna were the first to be discovered.

[3] HERODOTUS, iii. 112.

leaves and stem are covered with bristles, from the ends of which a kind of resin distils, to thicken in the air and hang suspended in viscid drops.

The island can show other trees which give off gums more or less valued for their perfume or taste; besides the terebinth there is the *liquidambar orientalis*, the *wood of Christ*, as they call it in the Greek islands, which furnishes a kind of incense, the *ambra*.

And in its bosom Cyprus held treasures which contributed no less to its wealth and reputation. When the Phœnicians first landed on its shores they recognised deposits of copper, which turned out to be rich enough to bear working down to the Roman epoch.[1] They also found iron, but in smaller quantities; alum, amianthus, and precious stones of various kinds. In those remote years which saw the first landing of Phœnicians, copper was the most indispensable of all metals, and Cyprian copper was more famous than any other; both Greek and Latin writers speak of χαλκός κύπριος and *æs cyprium*. The Latins went still farther; they gave the metal the very name of the island in which it abounded, and called it *cuprum*, whence our *copper* and its equivalent terms in other European languages. The mines of Cyprus have long been abandoned, but their vestiges are still to be traced at several points. The geological exploration which, we are told, is about to be undertaken by the English government, ought at least to afford precise information on the subject, and may even lead to the discovery of veins which might again be profitably worked.

§ 2.—*Summary of the History of Cyprus.*

As we have already had occasion to mention, the soil of Cyprus was occupied for many centuries by a population composed both of Semites and Aryans, and, whoever the primitive inhabitants of the island may have been, the earliest settlers known to

[1] In the *Odyssey* (i. 181) Athene, who has put on the form of a merchant, relates how she intends to carry iron to the Cypriot town of Temesé, hoping to exchange it for copper. Later on we find the petty kings of the island turning to these deposits when they wished to make presents or to secure useful alliances. Between 331 and 332, Nicocreon, a king of Cyprus, sends to Greece a present of copper for the winners in the Argolide games (LE BAS et FOUCART, *Voyage archéologique, Inscriptions du Péloponèse*, No. 122. KAIBEL, *Epigrammata græca*, No. 846).

history were Phœnician, on this point the Greek tradition never varies, from the times of Homer down to those of the latest historian of antiquity.

The *Iliad* presents Cyprus to us as a land thoroughly Phœnician. She supplied no contingent to the Greek host before Troy; her master was Kinyras, to whom Agamemnon owed his cuirass, a splendid specimen of an art in which the Phœnicians excelled.[1] Now in the oldest Hellenic traditions Kinyras is the representative of the Asiatic civilization. He is sometimes placed in Syria, sometimes in Cilicia, a land which was early occupied by the Semites. He was sometimes looked upon as the father of Adonis, with whom he shared the love of Aphrodite, that is, of the Phœnician Astarte; he introduced the worship of that goddess into the island and founded her temple at Paphos, where he was venerated as the eponymous chief of a powerful priest-family, the Kinyrades.[2] In the *Odyssey* Cyprus is twice spoken of, together with Phœnicia and Egypt, as a distant country on the very horizon of the world.[3]

We do not possess a single one of the antique histories of Cyprus,[4] so that it is only through passing allusions that we know anything of Greek notions as to its story. A belief in the precedence of Phœnicia is constantly implied. To give but one example, Theopompus tells us how "The Greeks, the companions of Agamemnon, occupied Cyprus after expelling the people of Kinyras, a race whose remains still inhabit Amathos."[5] The people of Kinyras and the Phœnicians were one and the same, and these words of Theopompus are confirmed by what we know of Amathos from other sources; in all the struggles of the two different races who divided the island between them, that city took a leading part against Hellenism.[6]

And supposing no such historical evidence had been forthcoming, we should have arrived at a decision in favour of the

1 *Iliad*, xi. 19-23.

2 PINDARUS, *Pyth.* ii. 16. Theocritus, Scol. i. 109. TACITUS, *History*, ii. 3. APOLLODORUS, iii. xiv. 3. OVID, *Metamorphoses*, x. 297, 298.

3 *Odyssey*, iv. 81-85; xvii. 448.

4 A list of them will be found in ENGEL (*Kypros*, vol. i. book i. chapter i.) together with a *résumé* of all that we know as to their contents.

5 THEOPOMPUS, fragm. cxi. (in *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* ed. Muller, vol. i.).

6 HERODOTUS, v. 104.

priority of Phœnician settlement by another road. The civilization of Phœnicia was entirely derived from Egypt, Chaldæa and Assyria, and was far older than that of Greece, besides which Cyprus was nearer to the coast of Syria than to that of Ionia. The Phœnicians put themselves in movement sooner than the Greeks, and as they had a shorter distance to go, they must have arrived first. However, it is likely that the early colonists included members of other Syrian tribes. The name of Amathos recalls that of Hamath, a well-known city in the upper valley of the Orontes; while Kittim, or Chittim, the vocable used by the Hebrew scribes in speaking of Cyprus, reminds us of those Khetas who were so long masters of northern Syria.[1]

It was on the southern and eastern coasts that the Phœnician influence was first established, and there it had the longest duration; the most incontestably Syrian towns in the island were Kition, Paphos and Amathos, and they were all on the south coast. The first-named of the three seems to have been the oldest and most important of all the Phœnician settlements,[2] and to have carried on the liveliest trade with the continent and the interior of the island. Its name (as in the *Kittim* of the Hebrews) was given to the rest of the island, and we find that the Jewish prophets applied it indiscriminately to the whole of that western world which they looked upon as the dependency of Phœnicia.[3] As for Paphos and Amathos we have already described their sacred character; Idalion and Golgos, in the same region, were perhaps less populous; but their temples, and especially that of Idalion, were hardly less celebrated even in the fourth century. Scylax calls Lapethus, on the northern coast, a "city of the Phœnicians."[4]

[1] The geographical term applied to Cyprus in the Bible is there written *Kittim* with a *kaf*, but various things allow us to suppose that *kaf* had two pronunciations, one hard and the other aspirated. This would explain the orthography Χέτιμα, Χέτιμος, adopted by JOSEPHUS (*Ant. Jud.* I. vi. 1). If the latter corresponded to the real pronunciation of the word it is possible that this was at bottom the same as Kheta or Hittite, when the initial consonant was a *heth*. M. Renan thinks this primitive identity not unlikely.

[2] Cicero, in speaking of Zeno, the stoic philosopher, calls him a Phœnician because he was born at Kition (*De Finibus*, iv. 20). Suidas does the same.

[3] ISAIAH xxiii. 1 and 2; *Numbers* xxiv. 24.

[4] SCYLAX, *Periplus*, § 103, Λάπηθος, Φοινίκων. Ch. Muller has clearly proved

At first the Syrian colonists paid a tribute to the mother country, but as their power increased they threw off the obligation, and that in spite of expeditions sent by the kings of Tyre, by Hiram in the tenth and Elulæus in the eighth century, to compel payment and enforce their sovereignty.[1] The last ties which bound Cyprus to Syria as a subject state were broken by the struggles of the latter against the kings of Assyria and Chaldæa. When money came into general use all the Cyprian kingdoms had their own; we should mention especially a fine series with Phœnician inscriptions, on which the names of the kings of Kition occur.[2]

The close relations which subsisted between Phœnicia and Cyprus down to the time of Alexander are farther proved by the great number of Phœnician inscriptions which have been found, not only at Kition, but at many other points in the eastern part of the island.

But just at present the study of Cypriot antiquities is dominated by a recent and very important discovery. A writing of a peculiar type has been encountered, in which elements taken from the cuneiform inscriptions seem to be mingled with letters from the Lycian alphabet (Figs. 71 and 72). For a long time it resisted all attempts at decipherment. Scholars tried to find in it an ancient Cypriot language which must, according to the Orientalists, have been Asiatic in idiom, and the late George Smith, the young scholar whose premature death was such a loss to archæology, was the first to establish that it was nothing but a rude and

that the *Periplus* must have been edited in its present form about the year 338 (*Geographi Græci minores*, ed. Didot, vol. i. *Prolegomena*, p. xliv.).

[1] That such expeditions were sent we know from the texts borrowed from Dios and Menander by Josephus, which he transcribes word for word (*Apion.* i. 18; *Ant. Jud.* VIII. v. 3; IX. xiv. 2). In the two passages which allude to the campaign of Hiram the manuscripts have altered the name of the people from whom Hiram claimed tribute; in one place they give it as Τιτυοί, in another as Ιύκαιοι, which correspond to nothing we know. The true form is furnished by a fragment of Menander quoted in a passage referring to Elulæus; there, in a passage which seems to be strictly founded upon that in which Hiram is mentioned, we read Κίτταιοι.

[2] DE LUYNES, *Numismatique des Satrapies*, pp. 82, 83, pl. xiii. and xiv. SIX, *Du Classement des Séries cypriotes*, p. 256 (extracted from the *Revue numismatique*, 3rd and 4th quarters, 1883). Kition and Tyre were sometimes reunited for a moment under the sceptre of a single prince. A piece of gold money, attributed to the last quarter of the fifth century, bears a Phœnician inscription to the following effect: "Of the king of Kition and of Tyre." DE LUYNES, *Numismatique des Satrapies*. p. 72.

ancient dialect of Greek, which is strong evidence that the population of Cyprus in very ancient times included a considerable Hellenic element.[1]

The close connection between the Cypriots and the Greeks was recognised by the Orientals themselves. This we see even by the



FIG. 71.—Cypriot inscription engraved on a rock at Nea-Paphos. From De Vogüé.

origin assigned, in the ethnographic system of Genesis, to those Kittim whom Josephus and all his commentators unite in identifying with the inhabitants of Cyprus, deriving their name from the

[1] See two articles contributed by M. BRÉAL to the *Journal des Savants* (August and September, 1877) under this title : *Sur le Déchiffrement des Inscriptions cypriotes.*

town of Kition.[1] They are included in the stock of Japhet and in the family of Javan, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, an appellation under which the Asiatics included the whole of the Greek tribes. The Bible generalized this name of Kittim, applying it to all the insular and peninsular population of the race.[2]

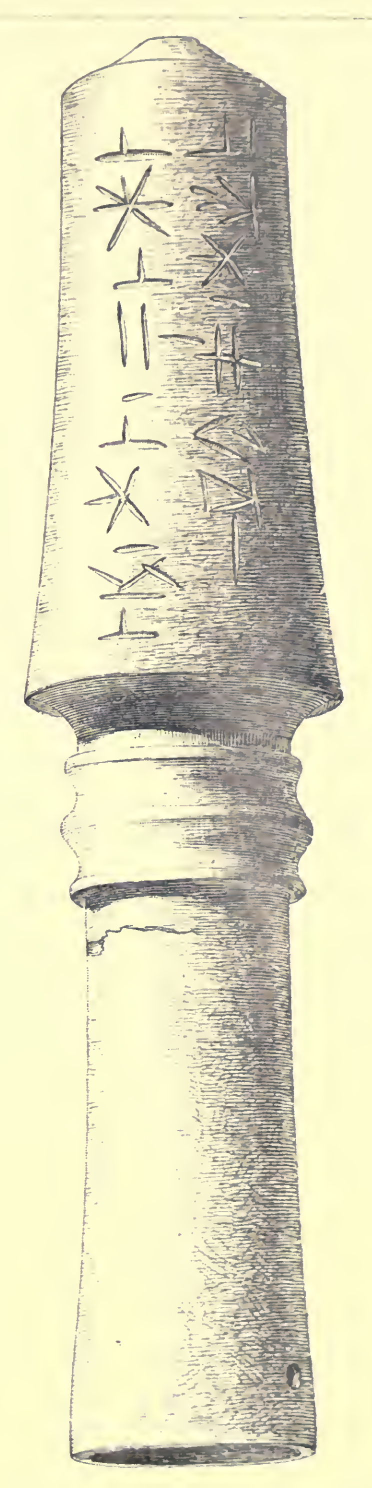
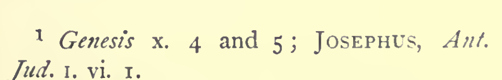


FIG. 72.—Cypriot inscription on a bronze fragment found at Dali. From De Luynes.

"Again, a mutual sense of their original identity appears to have existed between the Greeks of Hellas and the inhabitants of Cyprus. Of course those heroic genealogies must not be literally accepted which ascribe the foundation of Salamis to the Achæan Teucer, the brother of Ajax; that of Aipeia, the first site of Soloi, to the Theseïds, Demophon and Acamas; that of Kuriòn to Argive colonists, and generally the occupation of the island as a whole to the Greeks of Agamemnon's army, and especially to the Arcadians of Agapenor, who would thus have founded the ancient temple of Paphos.[3] In either case, whether the Greeks or the Phœnicians were the first to establish themselves in the island, all these traditions taken together make



[1] *Genesis* x. 4 and 5; JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.* I. vi. I.

[2] JEREMIAH ii. 10. EZEKIEL xxvii. 6. JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.* I. vi. I.

[3] HERODOTUS, v. 13; vii. 90; THEOPOMPUS, fragm. cxi.; STRABO, XVI. vi. 3; PLUTARCH, *Solon*, 26; PAUSANIAS, VII. v. 2.

up a body of historical evidence which has been too much neglected."[1]

From all these accounts it would appear that the Greeks were established in Cyprus a few years after the Trojan war, that is to say, about the twelfth century B.C. At any rate they must have been there at the time the *Iliad* took the form in which it has been handed down to us. It sends no Cypriot contingent to Ilion, but, on the other hand, it was to Stasinos, a Greek of Cyprus, that one of the oldest of the Cyclic poems, the ἀσμάτα Κυπριακά, was attributed and owed its name. The Greek cities must, then, have been founded between the moment when Homer drew the materials for his poem from the Æolian ballads and that in which the activity of Cyclic poets began ; so far as dates can be fixed or even hinted at in such a matter, it would be between the beginning of the tenth century and the end of the ninth that the Greek race, already possessed of Crete, Rhodes, and nearly the whole coast of Asia Minor, threw itself upon this outpost of Syria. It is certain that the incursion took place before the Hellenic world began to make use of the Cadmean alphabet, that is to say, before it began to note the sound of its own language by letters taken from Phœnicia. If the new colonists had brought this useful instrument into Cyprus with them, we should not have found them employing, down even to the Persian domination, a peculiar system of writing which the syllabic value of the signs and the absence of soft consonants made but ill fitted to their idiom.

And where did they get this system of signs, a system comprising some fifty-five different characters ? When they wanted to write the Æolian dialect, which appears to have prevailed in the Greek part of Cyprus, did they adopt characters from the cuneiform syllabaries ? or, as scholars are now inclined to think, did they take them from the Hittites ? This is hardly the place to treat such a delicate question, even cursorily ; no conclusions could be arrived at without the most minute and delicate comparisons, but from certain indications it appears likely that the characters we are discussing were invented in Asia Minor, and used there many centuries before the Phœnician alphabet. Short inscriptions in the character have been found even as far as the Troad, in the ruins of Hissarlik ; and they certainly belong to a much earlier

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue des Figurines, &c.*, pp. 113 and 115.

date than the oldest known Cypriot inscriptions—over the whole peninsula this imperfect system was superseded in the ninth or eighth century B.C. by the Phœnician alphabet; the former survived only in Cyprus. It is curious that the last Greeks to adopt the new letters should have been those living in the closest contact with a Syrian community. This fact, as M. Heuzey has so justly pointed out, "proves that the Cypriot Greeks were endowed with no little independence of spirit, and that they were not so entirely oppressed by the Phœnicians as was formerly thought."[1] The arrival of the Greek colonists on the island seems to have been a pacific invasion. History is mute on the subject, but the vague traditions that have come down to us point to friendly relations between the old colonists and the new. For the merchants of Sidon and their correspondents at Kition and Amathos, the Greek population was but another means to wealth.

For a century or two cities were founded at brief intervals. The decipherment of the Cypriot inscriptions proves that the Greek spoken in the island had as marked an Æolian character as the dialect of Lesbos, of Arcadia, or of Elis, so that we must believe that the Æolic element was the strongest, an apparent anomaly which may be thus explained: in spite of their different points of departure, almost all the bands of immigrants must have belonged to that ancient Greek stock which was thrown into trouble and confusion by the Dorian invasion of the twelfth century, and that stock was formed mainly of Æolic and Achæan tribes closely related to each other. When driven from their original abodes, certain fractions of these tribes must have ended by sailing from some port of Argolis or Laconia to seek their fortunes in the East; others may have embarked in Attica; but in any case they were all much more intimately related than the evidence of classic writers, construed literally, would lead us to suppose.

Thanks to the situation of the island and its fertility, thanks also to the friendly relations established between the Greeks and the Phœnicians, all these cities seem to have advanced to rapid prosperity. They were governed by hereditary chiefs, or kings. The ancients divided Cyprus into nine kingdoms: Salamis, the most powerful of all, Soloi, Chytroi, Curion, Lapethos, Kerynia,

[1] *Catalogue de Figurines, &c.*, p. 114.

Nea-Paphos, Kition, and Amathos.[1] The two latter, and especially Kition, remained Phœnician until the day when the victories of Macedonia brought the whole East within the Hellenic system.

Salamis, on the other hand, always kept its purely Greek character. Not a single Phœnician inscription has been found in it, neither has it yielded any of those queer objects of earthenware and terra-cotta that have been recognized as Phœnician. At Kition such objects have been found in tombs dating even from the Roman epoch; the oldest things from Salamis recall the style of Mycenæ; they are far from numerous, but they allow us to follow the progress of Greek taste with more precision than any where else in Cyprus. All those who have made excavations in the district have been struck by the contrast between the objects found there and at Kition.[2]

We know from inscriptions on coins and elsewhere the names of several kings who reigned in Cyprus during the fourth century; Asbaal, Baal-Melek, Baal-Ram, and finally Poumiaton, who was identical, no doubt, with the Pymatos deposed by Alexander.[3]

Whether these towns were united into a federation or not, we do not know; but the ancient chronographers always speak of a Cypriot thalassocracy, a maritime supremacy over the Ægæan and Syrian seas, in the ninth century.[4] It would be absurd to lay too much stress upon this date, but at least it bears witness to the persistence of the tradition left by the prompt development and momentary ascendency of the Cypriot Greeks. As artizans and agriculturists, the latter soon rivalled their Phœnician neighbours and teachers; the Greeks never required to be told a thing twice. While the populations of the towns were occupied in working stone, clay, wood, metal, ivory, glass, and gems, outside the walls the process of bringing the country into cultivation,

[1] DIODORUS, XVI., xlii. 4. This number must have varied, however, as this on that city of the second rank lost and regained its independence. ENGEL, *Kypros*, vol. i. pp. 231-233.

[2] M. OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER, *Von den neusten Ausgrabungen in der Cyprischen Salamis* (*Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts in Athen*, 1881, pp. 191-208 and 244-255).

[3] DE VOGUÉ, *Mémoires sur les Inscriptions phéniciennes de l'Île de Cypre*, p. 24. *Monnaies des Rois phéniciennes de Citium*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale.*

[4] EUSEBIUS, *Chronicle*, p. 321 of the Armenian translation published in Venice in 1818, 1 vol. 4to., from a lost text of Diodorus.

which had been commenced by the Phœnicians, was carried on by the newer colonists. The olive is the Grecian tree *par excellence*, as the famous myth of Athené is enough to prove. According to that story the olives that wave on every coast of the Mediterranean are all descended from the single plant which sprang up at the touch of Pallas on the Athenian acropolis.

This useful tree was carried by the Greeks to every shore on which they landed, from Cyprus in the east to Cadiz, from Hadria to Cyrene. Its favourite soil is a chalky soil near the sea, so that Cyprus suited it exactly. Thanks to seed and cuttings imported by the colonists, it gradually spread all over the lower slopes of the island, and in time drew around it an almost unbroken band of tender green. In our days these olive groves subsist only in a few rags here and there; at more than one point traces of the ancient plantations may be easily distinguished, but many of the trees have ceased to bear since they were left to themselves and their roots allowed to become choked with *débris* from the slopes above.

The material prosperity of the Hellenic colonists lasted through the whole of antiquity; but the Cypriot Greeks never seem to have tried to recover the maritime supremacy they enjoyed about the ninth century; they even appear to have been in some degree careless of their independence. Twice only, in a long series of years, do we find them making a real effort to reconquer it. The Greek cities showed no united front to a foreign master; they had none of the hatred for a despot, or of the love for a republican form of government, aristocratic or democratic, which distinguished the communities of Hellas proper; they were always ready to accept a monarchy. So, too, they resigned themselves into the hands of any great Oriental emperor who might happen to have the upper hand for the moment, provided only that he was content to ask from them nothing but ships in time of war and an agreed tribute in time of peace. Even now the Greeks of Cyprus are more indifferent to the pan-Hellenic idea than those in any other part of the Levant. They were always the easiest of subjects for the Turks; in 1823 they looked passively on while their bishops and priests were massacred, and in the years that have passed since then they have paid their heavy taxes to the Sultan without any of the resistance by which, for example, the neighbouring island of Crete has never ceased to be convulsed. In

Cyprus England has no cause to fear the hostility which never slumbered in the Ionian islands until she surrendered them to Greece.

This facile and resigned obedience many others have won from the Cypriots besides the Turks and the English. During the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Cyprus was in a state of more or less complete dependence upon the Ninevite empire. The Greek historians have preserved no record of this subjection; it was almost beyond their field of sight; but the Hebrew prophets hint at it, and the fact has been placed beyond dispute by recent discoveries. On the very site of Kition, in 1846, a stele of the local limestone was found on which Sargon is represented. This stele is now in the Berlin Museum. It has, besides the figure alluded to, a cuneiform inscription, in which a king of Kition is mentioned among the six kings of Cyprus who did homage to the king of Nineveh. Inscriptions have been found in Assyria itself which confirm the evidence afforded by this stele.[1]

Towards the middle of the sixth century, when Babylon, the heir of Nineveh, was nearing her end, Egypt enjoyed a short and last spell of military power and honour. Apries conquered Syria and defeated Cyprus at sea; his successor, Amasis, carried the war into the island itself and subdued it; but the subjection hardly lasted thirty years.[2] A new empire, that of Persia, had just sprung up and already, in the short life of a single man, it had absorbed all those countries which had previously been ruled by the Medes and Babylonians. Under Cambyses, the heir of Cyrus, it had taken Egypt from Psemethek, the son of Amasis. Phœnicia and Cyprus did not wait for the fall of Memphis to throw themselves into the arms of the conqueror; under Darius they were included in the fifth satrapy, but even then the Cypriot towns, Phœnician and Greek, were allowed to keep their native kings.[3]

[1] The Cypriot kings paid tribute to Sargon (SCHRADER, *die Sargonstele des Berliner Museums*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1881), to Esarhaddon (J. MÉNANT, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, p. 208, Cf. p. 249) and to Assurbanipal (*Guide to the Kouyundjik Gallery in the British Museum*, p. 158). In the so-called *Annals of Esarhaddon* ten or twelve kings are mentioned who are apparently Cypriot (HALÉVY, *Revue des Études juives*, January—March, 1881). In the Assyrian texts the island of Cyprus is called *Jatnau*, a name which has, so far, not been satisfactorily explained (OPPERT).

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 182. DIODORUS, I. lxviii. 1 and 6.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 19, Cf. 91.

In 502 Grecian Cyprus joined Ionia in her revolt against the Persians, but the Phœnician cities refused to take part in the movement, and thus prepared a check which brought the internal jealousies to a head.[1] Even the victories of Cimon in Cilicia and on the coasts of Cyprus failed to give liberty to the islanders, probably because they set little store by their independence, and failed to give vigorous help to Athens.[2] Their interests held them too closely to the neighbouring continent; they could not face the possibility of finding its ports closed against them. Evagoras himself, in spite of his rare ability and the weakness of the Achæmenids, did not succeed; he held the forces of the great king in check for several years, but in the end he had to give up all hope of detaching Cyprus from the Persian empire. Salamis gave the signal for revolt, but she was not supported by the other Greek cities. In his love for that Athens which he had helped once before and from whom he had received the signal honour of citizenship, Evagoras was more Greek than his people. By their writing, their arts, their religion, their manners, the latter were too closely allied with Asia to be readily detached by anything so abstract as the Hellenic idea. And yet the Greek element was the dominant one. This we know from many significant facts. The kings who commanded the 120 Cypriot vessels in the fleet of Xerxes were Greeks, at least if we may judge by their names, Gorgos and Timanos. In the Cypriot texts, which belong, for the most part, to this period of Persian supremacy, we hardly find any but Greek names, such as Timocharis and Ephetimos, priest-kings of Paphos, Stasicrates and Stasias, kings of Soloi.

"The famous bronze plaque from Dali affords evidence still more significant. Under the arbitration of the Persians and the Kitionites the town of Dali (Idalion) guarantees certain advantages to a physician who had dressed the wounds of its warriors after some fight whose date is now unknown; this official document, which was destined to be placed in the temple of Athene in Dali, is not written in Phœnician, but in Cypriot Greek. The king of Dali, Stasikypros, the eponymous magistrate, Philokypros, the physician, Omasilos, are all Greek. Thus, while the Persian power was at its height, one of the sacred towns of the island, the

[1] HERODOTUS, V. 104 *et seq.*

[2] THUCYDIDES, i. 94 and 112. DIODORUS, XL. xliv. 2; lx. 5-8; lxi. 7. PLUTARCH, *Cimon*, 18 and 19.

possessor of one of the oldest shrines of the Oriental Aphrodite, a town lying but a few hours distance from that Kition which was the cradle and centre of the Phœnician influence, was thoroughly Greek both in race and language. From this we may guess how slight the Phœnician element really was, even at the time when Cyprus was most completely dependent on the military power of Persia."[1]

The conquest of Asia and destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander would seem at first sight to have broken the bonds which attached Cyprus to the eastern world, but there is evidence that they were soon re-united. The possession of Cyprus was disputed for a time between Antigonus and Demetrius on the one hand, and Ptolemy Soter on the other. From the year 295 onward, it remained with Egypt in spite of certain attempts on the part of the Seleucidæ to regain it for Syria. To make sure of their conquest the Ptolemies gave it a new form of government. They suppressed the ancient local powers and confided Cyprus to a kind of viceroy who is called, in the inscriptions, General, Admiral, and High-Priest. He had a considerable force of soldiers at his disposal. As the Egyptian monarchy decayed Cyprus became more than once a kind of separate kingdom and an appanage of some junior member of the Ptolemaic house. She was in that position when, in the fifty-ninth year before Christ, she was brought within the Roman power by Clodius, the famous tribune and enemy of Cicero. Cato was sent to take possession without either soldiers or ships of war, so little were the Cypriots thought capable of resistance to a more energetic race. Cato realized nearly seven thousand talents, or about sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, by the sale of treasure belonging to the last of the Cypriot kings ; this he despatched to Rome, united for a moment to Egypt through Antony's passion for Cleopatra. Cyprus was included by Augustus in the provinces he left to the government of the Senate ; by that body its administration was confided to a pro-consul.

All antiquity is unanimous as to the soft, effeminate and dissolute mode of life of the Cypriots.[2] To this the copious fertility of the

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 123. The plaque from Dali is now in the De Luynes Collection in the French National Library.

[2] ATHENÆUS gives us some strange details as to the refinements of luxury and sensuality practised in the courts of the petty princes of Cyprus; he borrows them

soil and the want of all need for great personal exertion must have greatly conduced. The desire for the best, the instinct of progress, was not readily awakened. Although the Greeks of Cyprus made a serious effort to throw off the yoke of Persia during the revolt of Ionia, the attempt was never renewed ; it must have been with the aid of Hellenic mercenaries that Evagoras held out so long against the Satraps. The Cypriots were too rich for willing submission to the chances of war. Their placidity, not to say sloth, did not escape their contemporaries, who called any one steeped in idle well-being, a *Cyprian ox*. By one of those surprises, those natural paradoxes, which are not rare in history, it was in Cyprus that the founder of the highest moral system known to the ancients was born ; Zeno, the Stoic, was, as we know from Cicero, "a Phœnician of Citium."

We are compelled to bring our *résumé* of its history to a conclusion at the point where Cyprus became part of the Roman Empire, but our readers will understand from what we have said how important was the part played by the island in that struggle between the east and the west in which the whole history of the human race down to the discovery of America was summed up. That importance was not due to the character of the mixed race who peopled it, a character soon enervated in the too bountiful caresses of the climate. In spite of its Grecian population Cyprus cannot claim to be the nursery of any school of poets and artists, like Chios, Lesbos or Samos; from that point of view she is of less account than even Thasos or Ægina. She did not produce a single great writer, a single eminent painter or sculptor. Her only philosopher, Zeno, was such an unique and strange exception that we might here almost pass him by in silence.

The importance of Cyprus was of another kind. It was situated exactly on the line of contact between the east and the west, on the border between contending empires which seemed to be constantly occupied with nothing but war, but were in fact continually exchanging both ideas and merchandize. It was placed at the point of juncture between two hostile and yet inseparable currents.

from a Cypriot historian of the Alexandrian period, Clearchus of Soli (ATHENÆUS, iii. 100 ; vi. 257 ; xiii. 586-594. Cf. TERENCE, *Adelphi*, ii. 2 ; PLAUTUS, *Pœnulus*, 1251 *et seq.*). The monarchic régime to which the Cypriot cities were subjected offered features curious enough to attract the attention of the Montesquieu of antiquity, Theophrastus; one of his lost treatises was entitled, Βασιλεία των Κυπρίων, *The Kingdom of the Cyprians*.

It served as an outwork now to the Phœnicians and the great Asiatic monarchies in their contest with Greece, now to the western world in its struggle with Asia and, in far later years, to Frankish chivalry in its attacks upon Phœnicians, Persians, Arabs and Turks. But even when Cyprus was playing these latter parts she was too near Syria to escape its influence. There are truces in every war, and when they last long enough they lead, by the force of circumstances, to many mutual borrowings on the part of the belligerents. Cyprus always had an active commerce with the neighbouring continent, so that whichever of the two great adversaries might happen for the moment to be beaten, could always manage to preserve some kind of foothold on the island.

Many traces of these mutual relations are to be found in the industry, commerce, and agriculture of Cyprus. With each new master it gained some new vegetable, which afterwards became the basis of a profitable trade. Thus, in the course of the middle ages it received successively the mulberry-tree with the silkworm, the sugar-cane and the cotton-tree. With regard to the antique period we are, of course, often obliged to resort to conjecture in any attempt to determine what each successive master gave to its prosperity.

Cyprus has been a kind of huge *jardin d'acclimatation* for Europe; it was there that Greeks and Franks first attempted to cultivate certain plants from Arabia, Persia, India and Egypt, and to accustom them to life in conditions different from those of their birth. Success crowned these efforts, and in time the plants were exported to Greece and Italy, to the Canaries, to Spain, to southern France and even to America. It was from Cyprus that the Portuguese carried the first vines planted in Madeira.

In the history of vegetables useful to man Cyprus has, then, a very marked place; but other seeds than these were there fortified for a new career. The same route was followed by certain religious ideas and by their visible embodiments in art. Cyprus was one of those points at which the conceptions of the Semitic mind had the strongest influence over Aryan Greece. By the long and intimate contact of the two races both ideas and symbols were profoundly modified, to be carried, in the mixed and composite form impressed upon them by the double influence, over the whole of the Hellenic, Etruscan, and Latin worlds, and into every country washed by the Mediterranean.

In the field of religious notions and of the art by which those notions are interpreted, Cyprus played a part analogous to that described in speaking of the textiles and useful vegetables given by Asia to Europe. Her action may be studied with the greatest ease and completeness in her sculpture, and the task is greatly helped by the discoveries of which she has been lately the scene, as well as by the decipherment of her inscriptions. The ancient authors tell us little about the Cypriot civilization, especially during the earlier periods, while we could hardly guess at the existence of her plastic art from anything they say. The few examples of those artists who found their way westwards are confounded with objects of a quite distinct *provenance*. But to-day, although her architecture has almost completely perished, Cyprus is represented in all the great museums of Europe, and in the most important collection in America, by numerous figured monuments whose origin is known, monuments which already make up more than one rich series. From her ruins and grave-yards a whole art has emerged, and that an art very curious and national, an art of whose existence Winckelmann had no suspicion, an art whose interest and importance was not even suspected by Gerhard, who was living less than two decades ago.

3.—*Conditions and Materials.*

The foreign influences by which the art of Syria was affected made themselves felt in Cyprus also. Cypriot sculpture, which may be readily distinguished from that of Phœnicia by a skilful eye, was modified by Asia, in part directly, in part through Phœnician agency.

The peculiar characteristics of Cypriot art are not to be sought for exclusively, or even especially, in the clay statuettes. In these little objects a complete resemblance between Syria and Cyprus may often be traced, and the likeness is easily explained. Such small objects could be easily carried about, and either in their final shapes or as moulds could be exported readily to distant countries. The definition of a local style may be more safely based on lapidary sculpture. Thus, if we carefully examine a few Cypriot statues in a museum, we shall have little difficulty in recognizing their congeners when we meet them elsewhere. In some ways they

resemble figures of quite different origin, but, like the races of mankind, they nevertheless bear sure signs of their birth. Their singularity springs from two causes. Entirely Semitic in Phœnicia, the population in Cyprus was composed of two elements, which were intermingled in different proportions in the various parts of the island. Of these two elements the larger, numerically, and far the more richly endowed æsthetically, was the Greek. Moreover the soil yielded a material for the sculptor which, without having all the merits of the Greek marbles, lent itself more kindly to the chisel than the coarse limestones and lavas of Phœnicia.

Although the Greeks of Cyprus followed the march of their kinsmen of Hellas at a respectful distance, we must not forget that they were members of the same race, and that a race which has shown a deeper admiration for human beauty and rendered it with greater skill than any other.

No doubt the island was far enough from the great centres of Greek activity, but nevertheless the Cypriot Greeks kept up their relations with their kinsmen of Ionia and Hellas. Compared with those which united Corinth, Chalcis and Athens to the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægæan, these relations were neither close nor active, but they sufficed to keep alive, and in some measure to develop, the native faculties of the race. The sculptors of the great schools of Greece do not seem to have been in the habit of visiting Cyprus, and their example only had a feeble and late effect on Cyprian art. But in default of plastic art there was poetry. In its greater nobility the latter came very early to awake and exercise the intellect. The Greek colonists, when they first set foot upon the shore of Cyprus, possessed a rich accumulation of poetic myths, the spontaneous offspring of the national genius. When the Ionian singers began to make use of all this wealth of material and to celebrate their gods and princes in their ringing hexameters, the echo of their songs reached as far as Cyprus; at the courts of Salamis, Curion and Soli the verses of Homer and of many a forgotten singer were recited. Thanks to all this, the adventures of Hercules, of Perseus, and other sons of Zeus, were familiar to the Cypriot mind and were treated in the native sculpture. Here, too, we find an explanation of a fact that at a first glance seems surprising; in certain objects whose style and workmanship bear a strong mark of oriental taste we meet with themes which are only to be explained by Hellenic legends;

and these are found in the district in which the Phœnician influence was strongest, in Dali and its neighbourhood and in the necropolis of Amathus. Even when working for Semitic kings and for temples in which both rites and creeds had a strong Syrian tinge, artists were only too ready to make use of the inexhaustible store of themes placed before them by Greek poetry.

Thanks to the predominance of the Grecian element, art ran no risk in Cyprus of ending in such plastic poverty as we saw, for instance, in the Carthaginian steles; and the presence of a suitable stone favoured its development and gave it a remarkable fecundity. In chemical constituents this stone differed from the alabaster of Assyria, but, for the sculptor, it had the same virtues and defects; it was easy and pleasant to work and its durability was small.

There is not a marble quarry in Sicily; so that works in that material are very rare in the island. Most of the few that have been encountered must be foreign; they belong to the time when the originality of the Cypriot civilization began to fade away and neither in subject nor style do they embody the local traditions.[1] From the earliest times down to the last days of antiquity, the native sculptors hardly ever made use of anything but the friable rock which was everywhere within easy reach. This is a soft limestone, fine and homogeneous in grain; it forms the substance of nearly all the mountains in the island. When first quarried it is nearly white, but after a long exposure to the air it takes on a yellowish-grey tone which is agreeable enough. It can be scratched with the nail, so that the chisel cuts it with much greater ease and rapidity than marble. But in plastic art as in letters, things easily produced do not last. The porous limestone is too soft to yield the effects which may be won from marble; with it the fine polish which contrasts so well with the shadows hollowed by the chisel is not to be had. Any suggestion of the bony structure, of the muscles, of the veins beneath the skin, is impossible in such a stone, while breadth and vigour of handling are difficult to the last degree. Moreover it is so soft that subtle and delicate touches placed upon it are easily removed by the weather or by friction. Some figures disinterred by General di Cesnola at

[1] M. REINACH, in his *Catalogue du Musée impérial d'Antiquités de Constantinople* (8vo, 1882), mentions, as found in Cyprus, a marble head which has all the characters of an archaic Greek head (No. 301). It must have been carved either in Greece or Asia Minor.

Athieno had been exceptionally fortunate in their history; they had passed directly from the shelter of a covered temple to that of a protecting layer of hardened sand or dust, which adhered to their surface; like the statue known as the "Priest with a Dove" (Fig. 73), they have thus been preserved to our day in their primitive freshness and with the chisel-marks still sharp upon them.[1] In other cases the Cypriot figures have their contours worn off and reduced. We may give as examples the curious series of heads, mostly found by M. de Vögué, which are now in the Louvre; nearly all of them have the same look of wear and tear.

Another characteristic feature of Cypriot sculpture is the exaggerated flatness of the figures from back to front. They look as if they had been cut from slabs of stone rather than from prismatic blocks (Fig. 74). Again, it is only in front that the workmanship is careful; the back of the figure was not meant to be seen, it was to stand against a wall. The way such statues were arranged is shown by the rows of pedestals against the four internal walls of the rectangular temple at Athieno (Vol. I. Figs. 204 and 207). Upon the wider pedestals marshalled in three lines in the centre of the building, the statues must have been set up in pairs, back to back. Cesnola tells us that on one of these pedestals two pairs of feet may still be seen and that their heels touch each other.[2] The statues we have figured must have been erected on the same principle. They were separate from the wall or from their companions, but they were not frankly detached, so that they afforded a kind of compromise between high relief and work in the round.

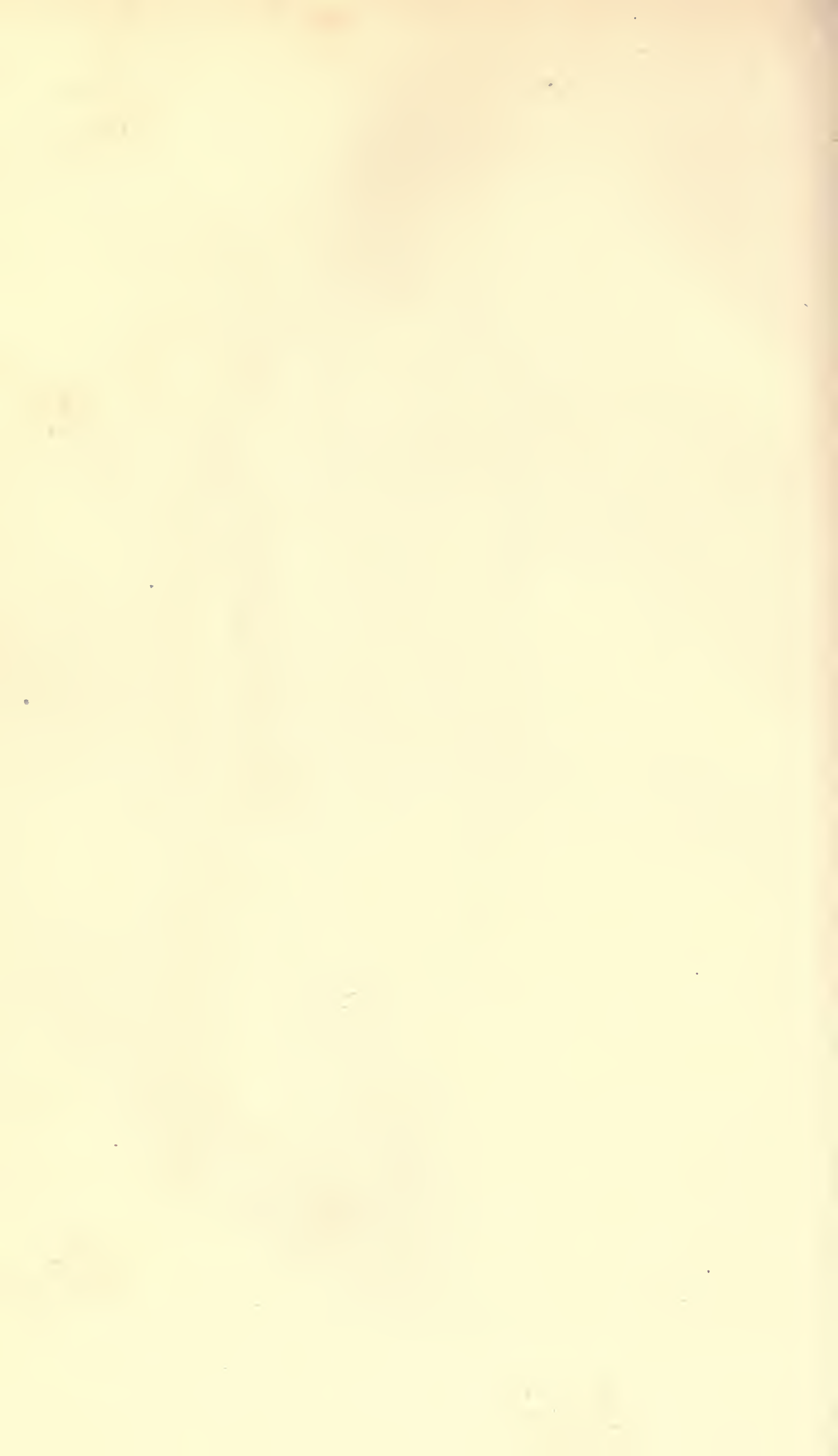
But although it was their favourite material Cypriot sculptors did not confine themselves to stone; they also made use of bronze, which they could obtain in any quantity they wished from the

[1] This statue bears two Cypriot letters on its left shoulder. It is one of those as to the restoration of which there have been very bitter disputes. It has been proved in a general way, by a long and public discussion, in which everything that could be said on both sides was brought forward, that the violent attacks directed, through a series of years, at General di Cesnola and his collection, were quite unjust. We may here remark, however, that this particular figure was seen only two months after its discovery by G. Colonna Ceccaldi, who described and figured it in November, 1871, twenty months after it was found (*Monuments antiques de Cypre*, pp. 35, 39-40); it was then in the state in which it now is.

[2] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 149-150.



FIG. 73.—The "Priest with the Dove." Limestone. Height 9 feet 3 inches. Metropolitan Museum of New York.



mines in the neighbourhood of Tamassos; but figures cast in this metal are exposed to so many risks that but few notable specimens have come down to us. There is reason to believe, however, that finds of this kind have yet to be made in Cyprus, and the time is now past when treasures before which the archæologist would drop on his knees, were destroyed through fear or ignorance.

During the summer heats of 1836, near the ancient Tamassos, between the two villages of Episcopion and Pera, some men were sinking a pit in the dry bed of a torrent, in hopes of reaching the water which might still be running beneath the stones, when at a depth of a few feet their tools encountered metal. The neighbours collected, and at the end of a few hours a perfectly well-preserved bronze statue was disinterred. It was either life-size or a little above it. A German traveller, Ludwig Ross, who visited the island in 1845, tried to find out as much about it as he could, and from answers to his questions it would seem that the figure was that of a nude man, in a pose much like that of several ancient Apollos, the Apollo of Teneus for instance and that of Thera. The left leg was advanced, the arms hung beside the body. Whether it was a product of Phœnician or of archaic Greek art it is impossible to decide from Ross's scanty evidence; but in any case a bronze of such a size coming down from a time which has left us nothing else of the kind, would have been of inestimable value



FIG. 74.—Limestone statue. Height 5 feet 10 inches. Metropolitan Museum of New York.

and would, had it survived, have made the fortune of its lucky owner.

But its size and beauty were fatal. Small objects could be carried about, and turned into money without much danger, but such a statue could not be taken far from where it was found without drawing the attention of some Turkish functionary who would have seized it without more ado, and rewarded its finder with a round dozen from the courbash. Suspicions would be aroused that other and perhaps greater treasures had been found at the same time; the village would be occupied by Turkish troops and the villagers perhaps thrown into prison. To avoid all this the statue was cut up and divided; it was sold piece-meal, as old copper, in the bazaars of Larnaca and Nicosia, at 5 piastres the oke (about 43 ounces). The head alone was preserved: from the hands of a European of Larnaca it passed into those of M. Borrell at Smyrna. Ross supposes that it found its way to England, but I failed to find it at the British Museum.[1]

From Cyprus, then, we have so far obtained nothing but small bronzes, such as the statuette here figured (Fig. 75). The shape of the pointed helmet recalls that of the Egyptian pschent. The movement of the arms suggests an act either of worship or benediction, and it is difficult to decide whether the person represented is a deity or a human being. This little figure must be very ancient; the body is well proportioned, and the advanced leg is firmly modelled, but the extremities are only roughly blocked out; the hands are formless and the feet absurdly long.[2]

Cyprus is rich in plastic clay, which was widely used by her artists at a very early date. The great age of the modeller's art in the country is proved not only by the primitive character of many of the figures found in the grave-yards about Dali, but also by the traditions relative to Cineras. He was not only credited

[1] L. Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halicarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern*, pp. 161 and 163. This forms the fourth volume of his travels in the Greek islands (*Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln*), and, like the preceding volumes, contains several plates which are as faithful as the page of a rather small octavo will allow them to be.

[2] In the neighbourhood of Tamassos, Ross bought a small bronze representing a pygmy (*Ibid.* p. 163). In the Cypriot collection of the British Museum, which is mainly the result of Mr. Lang's explorations at Dali, there are a great number of small bronze statuettes belonging to the same class as M. Piot's figure. They are robed in the same tunic, and covered with the same head-dress. They are catalogued as *Kings in Egyptian Costume.*

with the discovery of the copper mines, with the invention of pincers, of the hammer, of the lever, of the anvil,[1] he was associated in the national legends with the rise of the ceramic industry. "Not only did he start the manufacture of tiles; he made use of his skill to play a practical joke on the Greeks, sending them a terra-cotta fleet, *ὀστράκινον στόλον*, manned by terra-cotta sailors, *γηίνους ἄνδρας* instead of the squadron he had promised for the siege of Troy. Here we find an allusion to the multitudes of terra-cotta soldiers, sailors, war chariots and galleys (Fig. 76) which have been found in the Cypriot tombs."[2]



FIG. 75.—Bronze statuette. Actual size. Piot Collection.

Long practice made the Cypriots familiar with all the secrets of ceramics; they learnt how to model and fire pieces of quite exceptional size; their taste and their handling are to be recognized in some life-size figures found at Dali, in which the details of the head-dress, the face, and the costume, are made out by touches of

[1] PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* VII. lvii. 4.
[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 116. The text to which M. Heuzey here calls attention is to be found in the commentary of Eustathius, against line 20 of the eleventh book of the Iliad.

black and dark red laid on with the brush.[1] As for the statuettes, they form series in our museums far richer than those from Chaldæa, Assyria, and Phœnicia proper, a difference to be explained by the numerical preponderance of Greeks in the population. A peculiarity which has been noticed before now may, perhaps, be explained by the same cause. It would seem that the Cypriots very seldom made statuettes of glazed earthenware; only a few things of the kind have been found in the course of the excavations. In the Louvre, for instance, there are but three specimens of the art, and they are all three without the distinctive marks of



FIG. 76.—Terra-cotta galley found at Amathus. New York Museum.

a Cypriot origin. We have already described and figured the best of the series (Fig. 3), and expressed our belief in its Phœnician character; the other two are oriental, and must have come from a Syrian or perhaps an Egyptian workshop.[2] The Greeks seem to

[1] Some of these, quite entire and in admirable preservation, are in the possession of M. de Clercq. In the Louvre and the British Museum there are only fragments (HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 160-162, Nos. 84-91 of the Cypriot series). Ross saw fragments of these life-size figures when he was at Dali (*Reisen*, p. 100). M. E. Piot has two fine heads in terra-cotta, life-size, which he bought at Beyrout from M. Péretié, who told him they came from Cyprus.

[2] GENERAL DI CESNOLA ascribes alike origin to several very small figures covered with a green glaze which he found in some of the tombs at Amathus (*Cyprus*, p. 275).

have never had much taste for enamel, they used it neither upon their vases nor their statues; they laid themselves out to charm the mind rather by elegance and nobility of form than by beauty of colour.

In all probability, stone, clay, and bronze were not the only materials used by the Cypriot artist. The island was rich in forests of cedar and cypress; from their trunks and larger limbs excellent timber could be found for statues and votive figures; but it is only in Egypt, in the warm sands and dry caverns of Memphis and Thebes, that wood has outlived the centuries. It is therefore to work in clay and wood alone that we must turn for evidence as to the progress of Cypriot art and as to the order in which various influences chased each other over its face.

§ 4.—*Variations of Style and Costume.*

Of all the stone statues found in Cyprus, those whose rudeness of execution proclaims them the oldest have left but one impression upon travellers, they have reminded them of the monuments of Assyria. No doubt the practised eye easily sees they are not quite similar, but none the less there is a strong family likeness (see Figs. 73 and 74, and Plate I. Fig. 2). In the head-dress there are very marked analogies. So far as we can judge from its representation in stone, this was in Cyprus a conical cap of cloth ending in a point bent over backwards; the stuff is generally ornamented with parallel stripes and has ear-pieces which are as a rule turned up, but in some cases hang over the cheeks (Plate II.).[1] The general shape is that of many Assyrian helmets,[2] under the lower edge of the cap and just over the forehead and temples there is a fringe of small frizzled curls connected with the beard as in some heads in the Ninevite bas-reliefs (Fig. 73).[3] The beard itself is not divided into stories, like the Assyrian beard, but its curls have the same rigid symmetry, as if they had been made and arranged with the curling-tongs. The robe is long enough to cover the whole body; a smaller cloak thrown obliquely over the

[1] The head in Plate I. Fig. 2 is about 16 inches high. The statuettes on Plate II. are respectively $8\frac{3}{5}$ inches and $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

[2] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Figs. 13, 14, 26, 30, 31, &c.

[3] *Ibid.* Figs. 66, 113, &c.

left shoulder, in the fashion afterwards to be followed by Greece, completes the costume. The draperies of Cypriot statues are, as a rule, quite flat, like those of oriental art, but now and again we find them seamed with parallel grooves, the first timid attempt to suggest folds.[1]

But in spite of all these analogies Cypriot figures could never pass for copies of Assyrian works of art; Ninevite sculptures were not imitated in Cyprus as those of Egypt were in Phœnicia. A first distinction is to be found in the fact that Assyria confined herself almost exclusively to bas-reliefs, while Cyprus was almost as faithful to work in the round. It is true that the Cypriot statues were not quite independent of the walls against which they were placed, but they were, at least, no part of its substance like the figures of Khorsabad. Again, Cypriot modelling was not so strongly accented as Assyrian; muscles were less vigorously insisted upon, and the details of form generally were not carried so far. The independence of the Cypriot artist is evidenced, too, by such things as these; the hair is not seldom gathered out of sight at the back of the head, and sometimes entirely hidden under the cap, the beard is often simply arranged into a fan-shape and curled only at the end (Fig. 78). The upper lip, which is hidden in Assyria beneath a thick moustache with turned-up ends, is here always bare, a fashion which is only to be found in Greek or Græco-Etruscan figures.

From all this we may conclude that Cypriot sculptors were not in actual contact with the plastic art of Assyria. If they had come under its direct influence we should find more traces of it in their work. They followed Assyria only at a distance. They did not copy her way of looking at and rendering nature, but merely certain details of dress and pose, and this implies that between Assyria and Cyprus there was an intermediary, which can have been no other than Phœnicia. Was not the art of Phœnicia inspired for a time by the taste and fashions which prevailed in the great military empire to which she was attached by such powerful links? From Arvad and Gebal, from Sidon and Tyre, statuettes were carried in hundreds to Kition, Paphos and Amathos, in which the dress and treatment of the hair were those of Assyria, and in Cyprian workshops these copies were copied again. Assyrian art had, therefore, its effect in the island only through a

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 129.

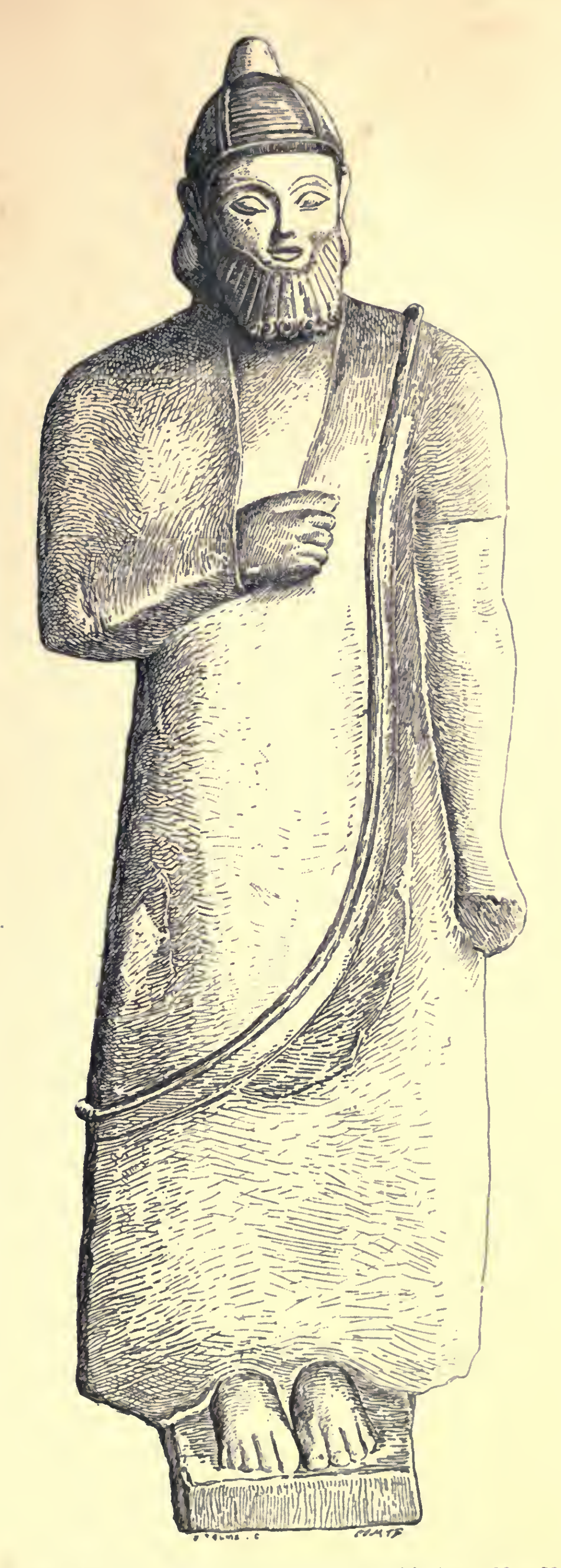


FIG. 77.—Limestone statue from Athieno. Height 5 feet 6 inches. New York Museum.



medium which was to some extent distorting, so that we may readily understand that its influence over the development of Cypriot art was but feeble on the whole.

The borrowings of both Cyprus and Phœnicia from Assyria were confined to subordinate details because they received the important parts of their education at another school. They were pupils of Egypt. The earliest exports from Phœnicia were manufactured on lines borrowed from the industries of the Nile valley, and even when the fortunes of war and the passage of time stripped the successors of Rameses of their Syrian provinces to give them to the family of Sargon, the effects of the ancient intimacy did not disappear. And if they persisted in Phœnicia, overrun as it was by the Ninevite armies, still more did they do so in insular Cyprus. Her kings indeed paid tribute to the new masters of Syria; the stele of Sargon was raised on the beach at Kition; certain officers of that prince or of his successors may have been stationed for a time in the island; but no Assyrian army landed on her shores and her commerce with the Delta ports never ceased. We thus get an easy explanation of the fact that even in those figures in which the influence of Asia may be most clearly read, the fine taste of Egypt peeps out in a general breadth of execution, in the treatment of the nude, and even in the form and handling of head-dress and drapery.

Moreover, the excavations at Dali and Athieno have yielded many statues in which the imitation of Egypt is quite flagrant.[1] At first sight we are tempted to believe them older than the figures inspired by Assyria, and to ask whether they may not date from the time of the great Theban dynasties, when Egypt had no rival in the East. But closer study does not confirm this first impression. Contrary to what we might have expected these figures are, as a rule, more advanced and more refined in style than those belonging to the preceding group. Like all other Cyprian statues they are without inscriptions, so that their workmanship is our only guide to their age. That criterion leads on to the conclusion that they are not so old as the figures described above, and history enables us to give them an approximate date.

[1] STARK was the first to point out these obvious imitations of Egyptian fashions by Cyprian artists; he also saw clearly that the borrowings in question cannot have taken place earlier than the twenty-sixth dynasty (*Archæologische Zeitung*, 1863, pp. 1-12.

Even before the fall of Nineveh in 622, Syria had begun to escape from the Assyrian rule; the Egyptian armies again began to appear within its frontiers, and in good time Cyprus was attached to the new empire founded by the Saïte princes. This renascence of the political and military power of Egypt had a result at which the historian will feel no surprise; over the whole eastern basin of the Mediterranean Egyptian fashions came into vogue and retained their prestige for some two hundred years, in fact until they were superseded by those of Greece. Even then the conflict was not decided in a moment. Down to the time of the Ptolemies Egyptian forms and motives retained much of their favour on the coasts of Syria and neighbouring countries. To this late period we are tempted to ascribe a figure or two, in which an Egyptian costume is combined with a freedom of handling that could only have been learnt from western example.

But in the figures which most strongly recall the art of the Nile valley, there is nothing to justify us in supposing them to be copies of Egyptian models; they are not pasticcios; even if we were not warned by the stone, which is unmistakeable, we should not be deceived for a moment in thinking ourselves in presence of an Egyptian work, we should feel none of the doubts easily raised by more than one fragment from Phœnicia proper (Vol. I. Fig. 228). In Cyprus imitation was never servile, and yet in these later productions the model is more closely followed than in what we have called the Assyrian group. We find the flowing execution which seemed to us to reveal the secret influence of Egyptian taste, even in those monuments by which a quite different origin was at first suggested; but here the similarity is not only in the general plastic conception and in the character of the modelling; many of the Cypriot statues repeat the traditional attitudes and fashions of Egypt, with no more than such changes as are naturally caused by local wants and habits.

When we pass from figures inspired by Assyrian to those made after Egyptian models, the contrast is very striking. No more long robes hiding all the natural contours; in some statues we find the semi-nudity of Egypt—the *schenti* about the hips, the bust, arms and legs, bare (Fig. 82)—but more often the body is covered with a clinging, short-sleeved tunic, under which the forms are scarcely less visible than if they were nude; the existence of this garment is only betrayed, in fact, by the edges at the neck and



FIG. 78.—Colossal head from Athieno. Height 34 inches. Limestone. Metropolitan Museum of New York.



elbows (Fig. 79). From what we know of the softness of Cypriot manners, we may conclude that gymnastic exercises held a less important place in the life and education of the young than they did in Greece; as a consequence they had far less effect upon the plastic arts, and we know from many things that the nearness of Cyprus to the East led her to take up Oriental rather than Greek ideas upon such a matter as absolute nudity in a statue. In the few instances in which we find a nude torso it is a mere convention, an attempt to flatter a Cypriot prince by giving him the look of an Egyptian Pharaoh.

The same analogies are to be found in other details of costume. Look for instance at the head-dresses. No more frizzled curls as in Assyria, but the hair drawn into smooth heavy masses, which hang down on each cheek and enframe the visage much in the same way as the Egyptian klaft (Fig. 79). Sometimes the resemblance is still more complete, and it would appear that the head was enveloped in a piece of cloth which entirely covered it from the forehead to the nape of the neck (Fig. 80), as the mode was in Egypt; here there is nothing wanting but the lappets which prolonged the klaft in front and hung down upon the chest; the cloth, however, is smooth instead of being plaited.[1] In other figures, the coif in question is replaced by a high cap not greatly differing in shape from the *pschent*, or rather from the *white crown* of Upper Egypt.[2] This head-dress is sometimes quite plain and smooth, sometimes it seems to have been decorated, like that of a Pharaoh, with the uræus, the symbol of royalty (Fig. 75); but in the stone statues this little ornament has always been broken off, leaving nothing visible but its point of attachment (Fig. 82).

Some of these Cypriot statues, like the one just quoted, seem to be the result of a compromise between Egyptian and Assyrian forms. In most of the statues belonging to this group the face is beardless, but here it is adorned with a curled fringe of hair like that of a Ninevite bull; but in spite of this the general Egyptian character of the figure is strongly marked and has more to say to the final impression than the Assyrian look

[1] The Cypriot collection in the British Museum contains many stone statuettes in which the imitation of the klaft may be clearly traced; our attention is drawn to this by the labels placed upon those objects by the officers of the Museum.

[2] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. p. 16.

given to the face by the arrangement of the hair. The body is covered only by the schenti about the loins; one of those wide necklaces worn by the kings and deities of Egypt,[1] lies about the neck, and circles of metal embrace the arms just above the elbow. But the most characteristic and the most purely Egyptian detail of the whole work is the vertical band of stuff which hangs between the limbs and fills up the space between the lateral folds of the schenti. As in the statues of Pharaoh this band is decorated with the regular religious symbols, the two uræi, which are back to back and crowned with the solar disk.[2] Sometimes we find strange motives in this place. Look, for instance, at the statue from Golgos reproduced in Fig. 83. Here the head-dress is of a peculiar form, showing more clearly, perhaps, than anywhere else the desire to imitate the pschent; but the ornament on the front of the schenti is still more interesting. This consists of an eye, the eye of Osiris, a well-known Egyptian motive, below which appears a head of Medusa with her serpent and pendent tongue, and, lower still, a pair of winged uræi, a motive which only occurs very rarely in Egypt in some of the tomb paintings showing the soul among the terrors of Ament.[3] These uræi are disk-crowned, like those of Egyptian royalty. But the central motive of the whole, the Medusa's head, is Greek, for although an oriental origin for the Gorgon myth is suspected by more than one scholar, it has not yet been proved.[4]

It is quite necessary that one should dwell to some extent on the motives employed by the Cypriot sculptor for the decoration of this vertical band or apron; it shows better than anything else how much and in what spirit he borrowed from Egypt. In

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Plates III. and IV., and Figs. 85, 172, 175, 176, &c.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. I. Fig. 103.

[3] WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 338-339. See, for example, the reproduction of Section K of Chapter 149 of the "Book of the Dead" (*Das Todtenbuch der Ægypter . . . . herausgegeben von Lepsius*, 4to, Leipsig, 1842), and one of the pictures on the sarcophagus of Seti I. (*The alabaster sarcophagus of Oimenephtah I. . . .* drawn by J. Bonomi, and described by S. Sharpe; London, 4to, 1864, plate xi.). In these two monuments the wings are horizontal, but we find them arranged as on the Cypriot fragment in a painting in one of the chambers of Seti's tomb at Thebes (LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler*, part iii. plate 134).

[4] On this subject M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU has said enough to pique our curiosity but not enough to satisfy it; he has not yet published his promised solution of the whole question (*L'Imagerie Phénicienne*, part i. pp. 128-139).

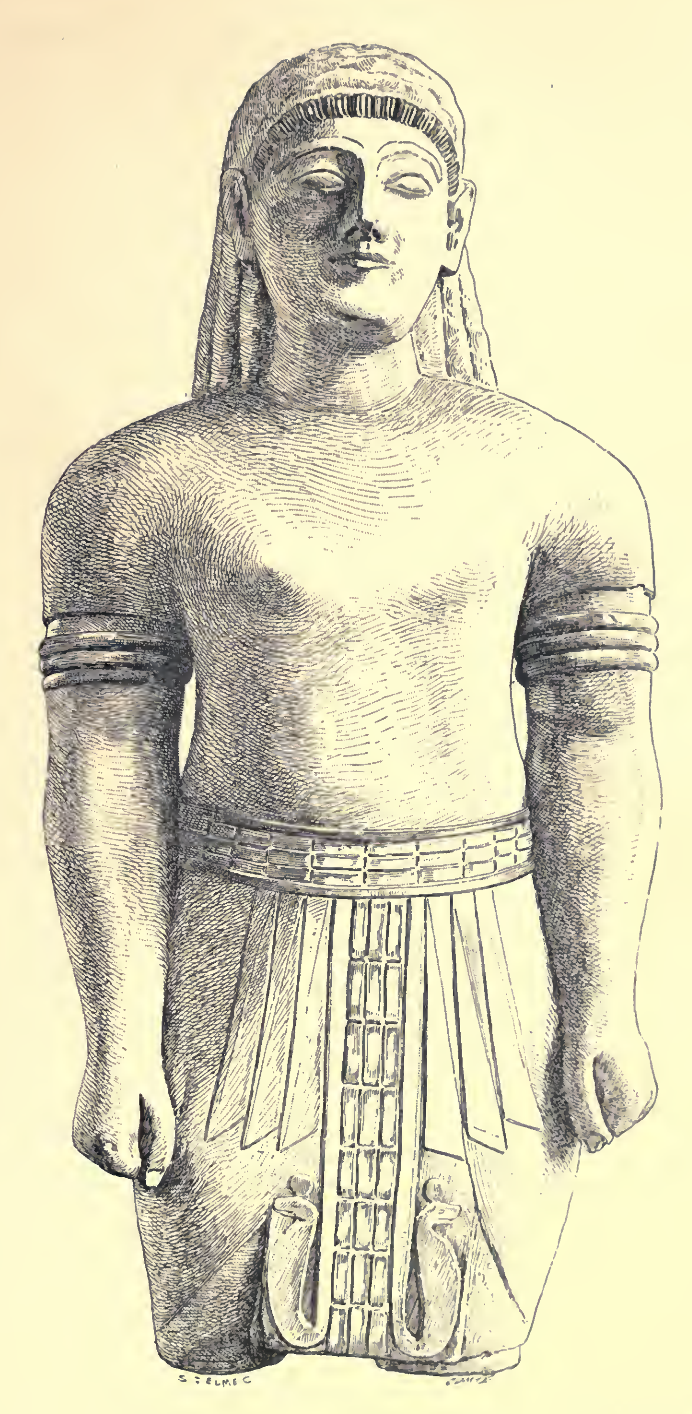


Fig. 79.—Fragment of a limestone statue found at Athieno. Height 40 inches. Metropolitan Museum of New York.



Pharaonic statues the only ornament used in such a place is the raised head and neck of the uræus ; the Cypriot crowds on to it all the Egyptian motives he could glean either from small things brought into the country from the Nile valley, or from Phœnician imitations. Thus, in one example, we find a head of Hathor under the serpent (Fig. 84). This motive entered into the decoration of many small objects which were carried in the course of trade, all over the Mediterranean basin.[1] It came into current use in Cyprus ; we find it upon sepulchral steles, where it forms a centre for a triple row of volutes (Fig. 85).

In those statues which betray a desire to imitate Egypt the very type of visage is changed. The high noses of the Assyrian group of figures have disappeared (Fig. 74). The nose is



Fig. 80.—Head of a limestone statue found at Athieno. New York Museum.

straight ; the eyes, without having the artificial prolongation given by a line of colour to Egyptian eyes, are nevertheless extravagantly long (Fig. 79), causing us sometimes even to doubt as to the sex of the person represented. The mouth, which is horizontal in works of the earlier period (Fig. 77), begins to turn up at the corner (Figs. 80 and 81), giving birth to the peculiar smile which characterises archaic Greek sculpture, a detail of expression which is no less strange to real Egyptian art than to the pure style of Assyria.

It is by such anomalies as these that we know that the imitation of the Oriental style by Cypriot artists does not date from a very high antiquity ; from that time when the West was

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Fig. 336.

still steeped in barbarism, and the only civilization was in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.[1] As late even as the eighth century Egypt, Chaldæa and Assyria were so far in advance of the rest of the world that if Cypriot sculpture had been then in existence it could never have escaped their tyranny; it could hardly have avoided a respectful and even servile copying of the models they set before it. Now, so far as we can judge

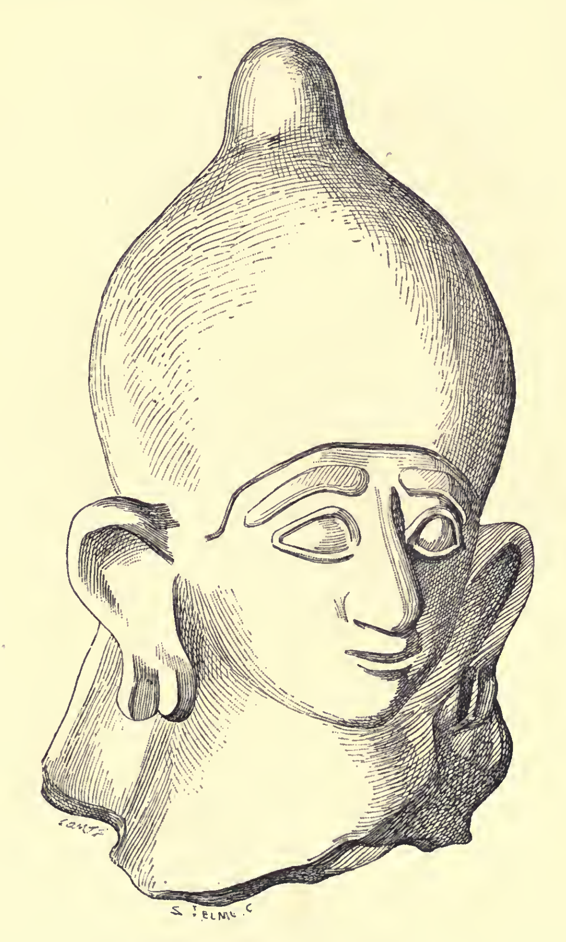


FIG. 81.—Head of a limestone statue. Height 8 inches. Piot Collection.

from still existing monuments, things did not take that course at all. In nearly all the Cypriot statues "the action of a third

[1] M. HEUZEY has understood this better and explained it more clearly than any one else. We have sometimes made use of the very expressions he employs in setting forth the ideas to which a long study of the Cypriot monuments has brought him.



Fig. 82.—Limestone statue found at Athieno. Height 46 inches. New York Museum.



element and one of different origin may be traced. And this element is the archaic art of Greece as it existed towards the end of the seventh century in the islands and colonies on the coast of Asia, itself bearing traces of its half Egyptian, half Asiatic education, combined with a rude, though powerful, originality of its own. We have shown that the influence of Greek archaism



FIG. 83.—Limestone statue found at Athieno. New York Museum.

was felt very early even as far as Phœnicia; still more, then, must it have made its way in an island peopled in great part by a Greek race."[1]

In several heads of limestone and painted terra-cotta we find the beginnings of the Greek school in Cyprus. The themes are

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 130-131.

different from those treated in the Egypto-Phœnician style. The high, barbaric head-dresses, so repugnant to Hellenic usages, become smaller and lower. Sometimes we find them surviving

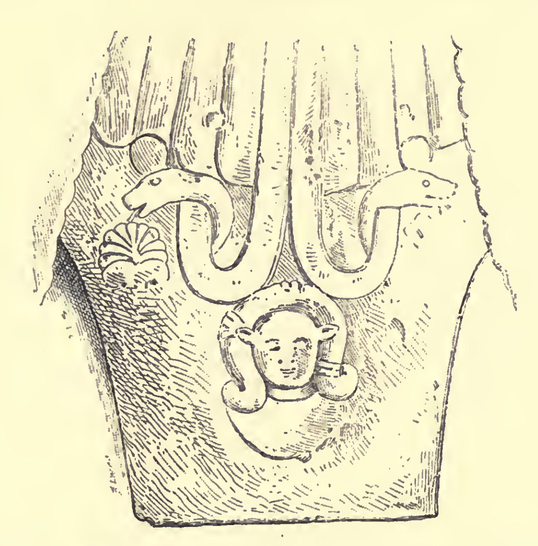


FIG. 84.—Detail of costume From a Cypriot statue. New York.

in a kind of skull-cap, from beneath which peeps out a single row of small curls (Vol. I. Plate I, Fig. 1);[1] elsewhere the hair is plastered down on the head and brought over the forehead in

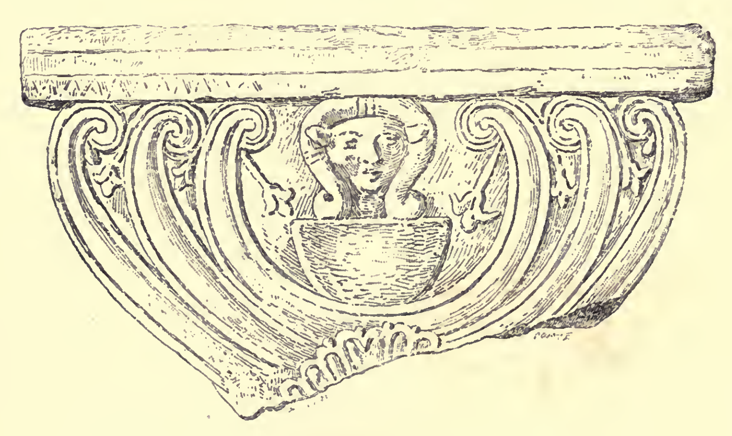


FIG. 85.—Capital of a Cypriot stele. New York Museum.

such a way that it almost joins the eyebrows (Fig. 86); it is confined by a band decorated with rosettes (Fig. 87), or crowned with a garland of leaves. "The face is rudely modelled but

[1] Height of this head, 9 inches.

betrays the characteristic features of archaic Greek art; the chin is strong and bony; the mouth is close to the nose and is drawn up by the forced smile alluded to above; the eyes, too, are drawn up at the corners in a very exaggerated way, a detail which has been wrongly thought oriental.

"And it would be as well that this error should be dissipated once for all. If this obliquity of the eyeballs is to be taken as a race characteristic, its origin must be sought for among the yellow races, such as the Chinese, and not among the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, and the Assyrians, who are shown, as a rule, with horizontal eyeballs in the ancient representations of their national



FIG. 86.—Painted terra-cotta head. Height 4 inches. Piot Collection.

type. I do not mean to say that a slight raising of the external angle of the eye is not to be frequently noticed in Asiatics, and even in members of our European races. But it does not appear in the art of Egypt, Chaldæa, or Assyria until at a comparatively recent date, and is then mostly confined to attempts at figuring the human profile. In the archaism of Greece alone do we find it adapted in a constant way and for any considerable period.[1] It is

[1] "This obliquity is common enough in Assyrian bas-reliefs of the seventh century; but there it seems to be no more than a conventional way of expressing the vanishing perspective of the eyes, as seen in full face, for it is not to be traced in heads in

in reality no more than a pure affectation, one of those conventions by which art sometimes thinks it can add to the beauty of the human form. It seems to me to be part of the great original effort of the young art of Greece to give animation to the face. The artist drew up the corners of the mouth in an exaggerated smile, and then, observing that he had broken in upon the equilibrium of the features, and, obeying an impulse towards parallelism, he turned up the eyes in the same fashion, and made them grin with the mouth. Oriental etiquette required an impassive countenance for gods and kings, but in the freedom of the Greek cities



FIG. 87.—Head of a limestone statue. Height 4¾ inches. Piot Collection.

the chiefs of the people and even the gods wished to seem amiable and to be popular. Such is the explanation of this pretended Asiatic fashion, which was, moreover, so far from being constant that at a more advanced period of archaism we find the outer angle often dropped instead of raised; this new affectation is easily perceptible in not a few Cypriot terra-cottas.

the round belonging to the same period. It is both rarer and less pronounced in reliefs of the ninth century. Among the very ancient heads recently discovered in Chaldæa, I only find it in one small head, which is less ancient than the others." M. Heuzey here alludes to the fragment reproduced in our *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Fig. 103.

"Quite Greek, too, is the substitution, in Cypriot sculpture, of



FIG. 88.—Limestone statue from Cyprus. Metropolitan Museum of New York.

relief and play of drapery for that minute reproduction of ornaments and fringes which was so dear to Orientals. At first the

folds were timidly expressed by mere parallel streaks (Fig. 88), but at last they arrived at those fine symmetrical arrangements of which the best models have been furnished by Greek taste (Fig. 89).

"From all these various elements, in which Hellenism became ever more and more predominant as the years rolled on, was formed what may be called the Cypriot style; like that of ancient



FIG. 89.—Fragment of a Cypriot statue. Limestone. Height 24 inches. Louvre.

Etruria, it was a branch of Greek archaism. Asiatic traditions naturally had more to say to it than to purely Greek art, and they were preserved from total disappearance by the influence of a national type, which was itself considerably mixed."[1] This type is most apparent in those statues which seem the oldest, but some trace of it is to be found even in statues whose style and execution

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 131-133.

has most in common with the Greek schools of Ionia, Peloponnesus and Attica (Fig. 90; and Vol. I. Plate I. Fig. 3).[1]

The distinctive features of the type in question are as follow. The cranium is high, the skull narrow, the forehead slightly retreating. The eyes are large and prominent, the cheek-bones salient, and the cheeks often hollow; the nose is strong and large at the end (Fig. 91), the chin large and heavy. The small, plump mouth is not without a dash of sensuality. Taking it altogether the type lacks elegance and nobility; it has neither the grave and honest look of the Egyptians, nor the truculent energy of the



FIG. 90.—Limestone head. Height 6 inches. Piot Collection.

Assyrians, nor the purity of line which Greek artists set before themselves from the very beginning, a purity which can be divined even under the halting execution of their early works. These Cypriot heads have neither vigour nor refinement. They betray a soft heaviness of character which agrees well with the history of the race to which they belong. From no single monument do we get a better idea of the type than from the colossal head found at Athieno by Cesnola (Fig. 78). It belongs to the

[1] Height of the head, 11⅓ inches.

group in which beard and head-coverings remind us of Assyria, but its maker was evidently inspired by the local type with which he came into daily contact.

The situation of the island must have led to more than one cross between Semites and Aryans, a mixture of races which must have been favoured, one would think, by the spirit and ritual of the worship carried on at Paphos, at Idalion, and at Golgos, and by the licence of manners which such a worship would provoke and sanction. Around these frequented shrines and the ports into which so many ships of so many different nationalities found their way, a population of mixed blood must have sprung up—



FIG. 91.—Head in painted terra-cotta. Height 6⅝ inches. British Museum.

a population which spoke both Greek and Phœnician, and must also have understood the Aramæan dialects of nothern Syria and Cilicia. May we not conclude that the physical type we find reproduced in Cypriot sculpture belongs to this hybrid race and that certain characteristics had been fixed by long heredity? There can be no doubt of the distinctions which divide it from the Assyrian, Egyptian, or Grecian type. Of course its peculiarities are partly due to the habits of the Cypriot sculptors, to the various influences by which they were affected, and to the different conventions they successively adopted. Each school of art has its

own way of looking at and interpreting nature ; it lays stress upon some features, and slurs over others, and that quite unknowingly. But the physiognomy of a model counts for something, however slight may be the artist's intelligence and veracity. The use of certain materials and the preference of certain processes combine to enhance one feature at the expense of another, but they do not create ; in other words, every portrait contains some truth, especially when several generations have helped to bring it to perfection.

To the characteristics above mentioned, characteristics which allow us to recognize a Cypriot figure at a glance, we may add



FIG. 92.—Statue found at Dali. Limestone. Height 40 inches. Louvre.

some of a less important kind, which will help to confirm our first impression. "The general shape of the face, especially in women, retains some of that soft rotundity which has always been considered a beauty by Asiatics. Female heads are encumbered with a number of jewels crowning the neck and chest and reaching even to the ears (Fig. 92). In matters like this we find hankerings after Oriental taste even at a very advanced period in the development of Cypriot art." [1]

The costume of Cypriot statues is peculiar. First of all there is the lofty Eastern head-dress by which Herodotus was so much

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 133.

struck. In his enumeration of the Persian king's auxiliaries he says: "The Cypriots furnished a hundred and fifty ships; this is how they were dressed. The kings wore mitres on their heads; the private men wore tunics; in other ways they resembled the Greeks." [1]

These mitres varied greatly in shape. We have already noticed the high-pointed bonnet, like the Assyrian helmet (Fig. 77 and Vol. I. Plate I. Fig. 2), and we have shown how it was sometimes so depressed at the apex as to be little more than a skull cap (Vol. I. Plate I. Fig. 2); we have also noticed head-dresses



FIG. 93.—Limestone head. Height 22 inches. Louvre.

like the klaft (Figs. 78 and 79) and the pschent (Figs. 80, 81, and 82); there are others besides, more rare and less curious. One of the most singular is borne by a head larger than life, in the Louvre (Fig. 93.) In this fragment the free treatment of hair and beard is that of an art neither Oriental nor oppressed by the conventions of Greek archaism; the modelling of the face too points to a comparatively late date; but our attention is arrested by a hat strongly resembling one of those furred caps with upturned brims which we so often encounter in renaissance pictures

[1] HERODOTUS, VII. 90.

(Fig. 93). The head as a whole recalls that of some Jew painted by Rubens or Rembrandt.[1]

In some cases we find such queer head-dresses that it is not easy to guess what the sculptor may have meant by them. What, for instance, are we to say to this fragment from the Louvre (Fig. 94)? Above the head of a man with the mere suggestion of a beard, appears a pair of hands, joined at the finger-tips, and surmounted by a lion's head. This singular ornament is broadly modelled with the chisel and occupies the same place as the crest of a helmet. What does it mean? Does the statue of which it



FIG. 94.—Fragment of a limestone statue. Height 18 inches. Louvre.

forms a part represent a man or a god? In default of a body, the pose and dress of which might have helped to clear up the mystery, we can hardly answer this question. On the whole, however, we may perhaps guess that the fragment is part of a divine image into which the lion was introduced as a symbol of superhuman force and strength.

[1] In the Louvre this head-dress is only to be found on a single head; but in London I encountered it twice; but in the latter examples the edge is hardly turned over with so much freedom and grace as in the one figured; they look as if they were the works of artists who were not familiar with the right way of arranging the article of dress in question.

The flat skull-cap shown in Fig. 95 is, on the other hand, an obvious study from reality; although peculiar and local in character

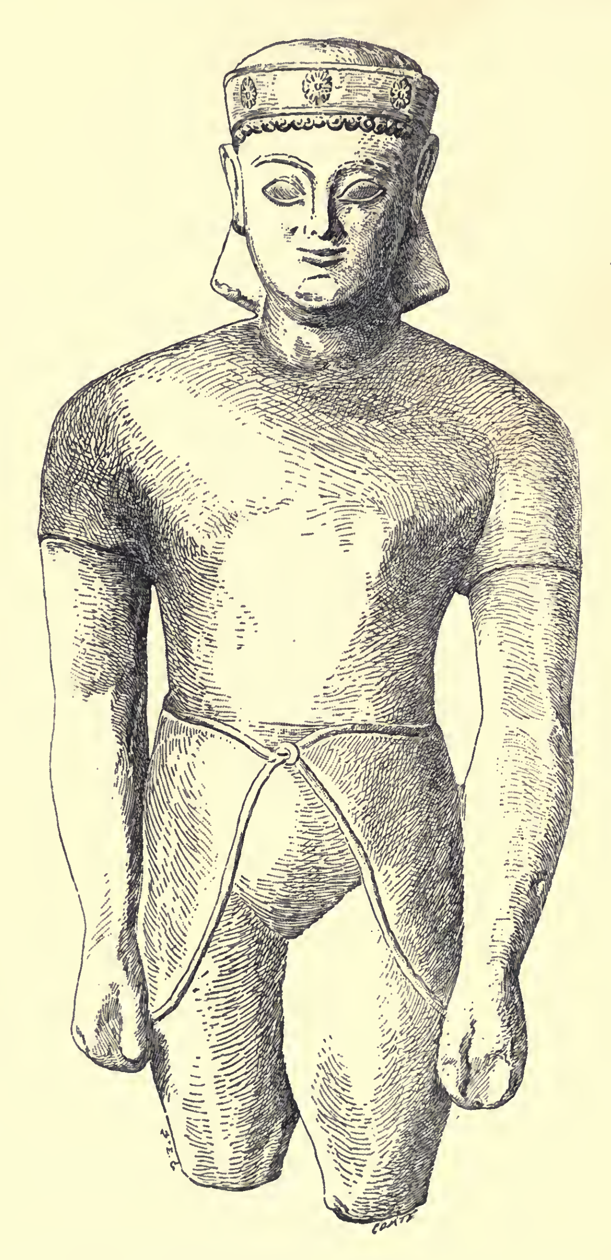


FIG. 95.—Limestone statue found at Athieno. Height 37 inches. New York Museum.

it is not without elegance. In the rest of the costume there is one curious detail. The hips are embraced in a kind of wide

girdle or open drawers. In another statue from Athieno, also at New York, a garment of the same kind is decorated with three large rosettes.[1] Its use must have been to keep the tunic in its place. The rosettes show that at least in the case of the wealthy, some attempt was made to enrich this peculiarly Cypriot garment. Neither in Egypt, Asia nor Greece, has any article of dress quite like this been encountered; it may be compared, however, in some degree to an Egyptian schenti without the hanging apron. It was only rendered possible by the presence of that close-fitting tunic which is to be found on almost all Cypriot statues; even on those where it is apparently absent it may have been indicated in paint.

This tunic seems to have been as universally worn in Cyprus as a shirt is with us, but its form changed with time. In pseudo-Egyptian statues it fits tightly to the body, but when Greek teaching caused more importance to be given to drapery it became more independent. It was streaked with those light parallel grooves with which the sculptor thought to suggest the softness of the tissue. In one of the statues we have noticed (Fig. 88), the arrangement, too, is quite peculiar to Cyprus. The beardless individual there represented wears two tunics, one over the other. The upper one is a kind of blouse, reaching only to the knees, while the under one falls down about the feet. This under tunic is very narrow; hanging closely round the limbs, it defines their contours in such a way that we should, at first sight, take its lower part for trousers; but a closer examination shows that it is not so, and a comparison of this statue with others in which Greek fashions are less widely departed from confirms that decision (see Fig. 96). In the statue here reproduced the folds of the under tunic may be traced from the shoulders to the knees and feet. The contours of the legs are certainly indicated through the stuff,

[1] See DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, plate iii. fig. 6. In his Catalogue Doell describes this figure and several more of the same kind (Nos. 67-77) as those of women. What he ought to have said is that we have some difficulty in deciding the sex of many Cypriot statues. However, in the figures wearing this wide hip-cloth, the breast is not larger than in other male figures, and the question seems to be decided by the existence of a beard on the statue numbered 77. This beard is indicated, as in many statues whose sex is beyond a doubt, by a simple boundary line, but that is enough. All the space within it was painted black. Doell notices this beard, but none the less does he refuse to abandon his idea; we think he is wrong.

but we can easily perceive that it is one and the same garment by which the whole body is embraced; it becomes narrower from the hips downwards or is contracted by the plaits, so as to ensure its resting in contact with the limbs it covers. In the treatment both of head and drapery we find the impress of Greek archaism, and yet the work has one peculiarly Cypriot characteristic in the tapering shape which brings it almost to a point at the feet.

From the reproductions we have submitted to our readers and the observations we have made upon them, it results that Cypriot sculpture preserved down to a very late date, down even to the time of Alexander's successors, a taste and a method of work which distinguished it from the contemporary schools of Ionia, of the Greek islands, and of Greece herself. In more than one votive figure found in Cyprus do we find a treatment of head and drapery suggestive of the Roman epoch combined with other qualities which show it to belong to the unbroken series of Cypriot sculpture. The number of statues that do not "smack of the soil" is very small.[1] The one here reproduced is quite an exception (Fig. 97).

This Cypriot originality was more apparent than real, and was the outcome of those Asiatic habits and customs which have never quite disappeared from the island. Costume was there always full of variety, and variety in dress is Oriental rather than Greek. Caps of cloth or felt, tiaras, long clinging tunics and short tunics over them, bangles of gold or bronze upon the arms, wide necklaces spreading over the breasts both of men and women, girdles embroidered with religious symbols and ornaments of every kind, all these make us think of Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia, rather than of Greece. Even when, by its victories over Persia and by the establishment of the maritime empire of Athens, the Greek genius had won that ascendency on all the coasts of the East which prepared the way for the triumphant progress of Alexander, Cyprus remained for more than one century the heir and pupil of the old civilizations of Africa and Asia; she was kept in that position by her habits of life, by the persistence of her ancient alphabet, by the existence of two races and two spoken languages within her

[1] We may also mention, as executed in Cyprian limestone and yet entirely Greek in style, a fine *Woman playing the lyre*, described by Stark in the *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1871, pp. 67-76. Stark believes it to be a work of the time of Evagoras, modelled in the island by some sculptor formed in an Athenian studio.

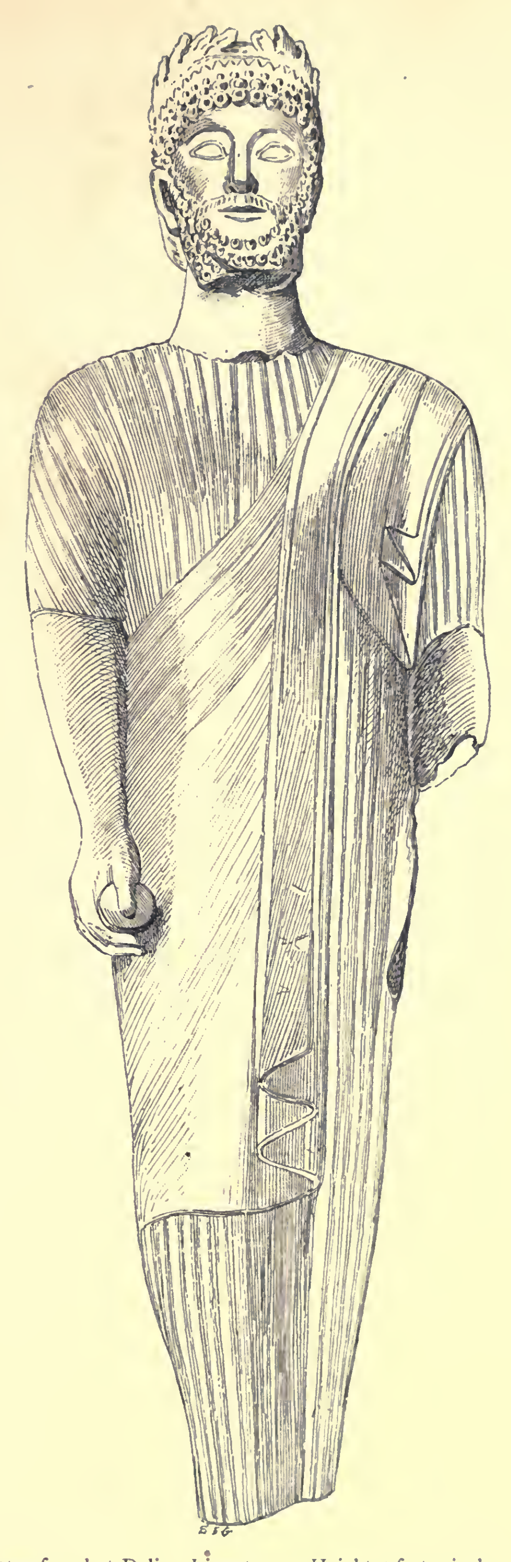


FIG. 96.—Statue found at Dali. Limestone. Height 5 feet 2 inches. Louvre.



borders, as well as by the form of the temples and the nature of the rites there celebrated. The Greeks of Cyprus were, so to



FIG. 97.—Limestone statue found at Cyprus. Height 5 feet. Louvre.

speak, only half Greek; our study of the monuments they have left us will help us to understand the effects of what, in the language of physiology, we may call an arrested development.

§ 5.—*Figures of Divinities.*

Of all the figures brought to light by the excavations in Cyprus, those apparently the oldest can hardly be anything but images of the divinity; rough and barbarous as they are, we can divine under their awkward forms those plastic conceptions which were

afterwards to be more clearly made out; they contain, as it were, the first sketch of types which were to acquire more and more precision as art progressed.

Of all these types the most primitive in character is that which embodies the idea of creative nature; and wherever the human intellect has made an effort to embody that idea in a visible personality it has turned instinctively to the female form; it is with the body and under the features of woman, the nurse and mother of the generations, that the never failing power which supports and perpetuates life is figured. Thus was created that goddess of Fertility whom we have already encountered, under various names, in Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Phœnicia, a deity who was in Greece to become the goddess of Beauty.

Such a development required plenty of time; ages elapsed between the earliest terra-cottas found in Cypriot tombs and the appearance of the Greek Aphrodite. Many of the oldest objects of the kind were found in the cemetery of Alambra, a little to the west of Dali. Everything found in this graveyard, whether pots or statuettes, had a peculiar aspect of its own, suggesting an industry still in its childhood and groping towards results. Every collection of Cypriot art can boast examples of the class to which we allude.[1] In other tombs, at different points in the island, similar things have been found, but found in smaller quantities.

The figures to which we are now alluding are modelled with the thumb and decorated partly with lines scratched into their substance, partly with coarse daubs of colour. The potter has taken a lump of soft flat clay and shaped it into a rude image of the human body (Fig. 98).[2] The head is almost formless; a curved, beak-like nose, a pair of large round eyes and monstrous ears may be distinguished, each of the latter pierced with two holes at the place of attachment of the heavy, elaborate earrings worn by Phœnician and Babylonian women. The arms are bent round horizontally, so that the hands lie either on the chest or the stomach (see Vol. I. Fig. 150).[3] In the example here figured they appear to hold a vase. The extreme width of the hips seems to

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, ch. iii. FROEHNER, *Collection de M. Albert Barre*, p. 2.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 136, 146 147.

[3] In some of these terra-cottas the breasts are not indicated; but in that case there is a rude suggestion of a robe, made with the help of colour, which accounts for their absence.

give a promise of maternity. The scratches on the clay may be meant to represent a loin-cloth. The legs are held tightly closed; they taper rapidly downwards and end in feet scarcely large enough to give stability.

The workmanship is but little more advanced in another figure of the same kind in which the arms are better attached to the body (Fig. 99). The hands are placed near the umbilicus; this is much too high and made too important altogether, perhaps, in allusion to birth and the traces left by the commencement of independent life in the child. Lower down, the loin-cloth is indicated by a few rough lines. The hips are not so wide as in the first example, while the legs are less rudely modelled. There



FIG. 98.—Statuette from Alambra. Terra-cotta. Actual size. Feuardent Collection.

is no base, and the feet are so small that the figure could not have stood by itself. The grotesqueness of the object as a whole is increased by a detail in which, however, a certain technical progress is betrayed—the potter has put large rings in the ears, and they are still in place.

We commence another series with those columnar figures in which the same goddess is represented as a nursing mother (Fig. 100). Here the cylindrical part is massive and slightly swelled at the foot, so as to afford a secure base. The decoration is no longer done with a point but with the brush.[1] With her right hand the mother supports a vase on her head while with

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 147-148.

her left she holds a child to her breast. In the management of this complex attitude there are signs that art is becoming less

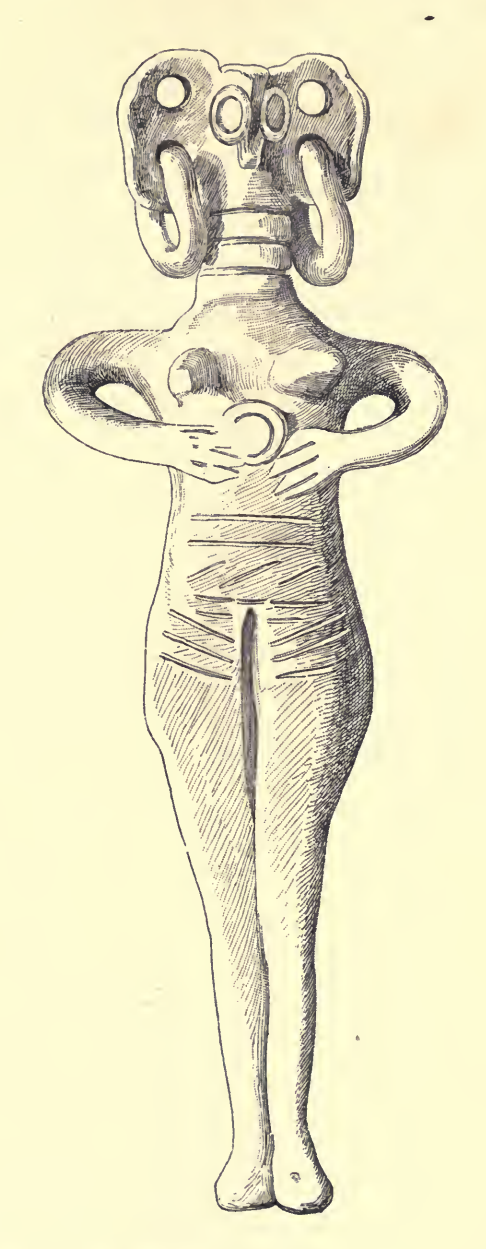


FIG. 99.—Statuette from Alambra. Terra-cotta. Actual size. Piot Collection.

awkward, although the execution is rude enough. The same motive continued to be in favour long after foreign influence

had raised Cypriot art out of the barbarism we see here (Vol. I. Fig. 144).

There is, too, a whole series of monuments in which the goddess mother is shown seated upon a throne and holding her child across her knees (Fig. 101).[1] This goddess no doubt presided over child-birth; Ariadne-Aphrodite was especially honoured at Amathus as the patroness of women in labour.[2] Several small groups in stone or terra-cotta have been found in Cyprus; they must have been ex-votos, to record some happy delivery. In one example, now in the Louvre, we see a seated woman with another woman fainting

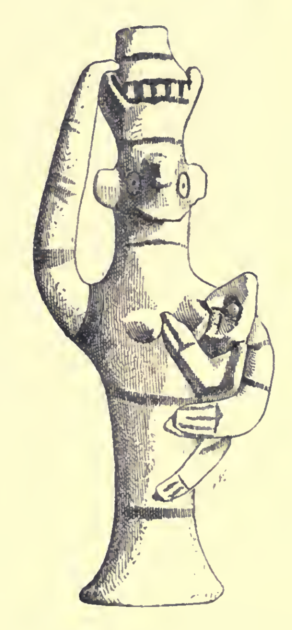


FIG. 100.—Statuette from Alambra. Height 7¾ inches. From Heuzey.

upon her knees, while a third kneels before them with a baby in her arms (Fig. 102).[3]

Another variant on the same type shows us the goddess completely naked with her hands upon her breasts and apparently

[1] Attention was first drawn to this type by M. Vidal-Lablache (*Statuette Cypriote du Musée d'Athènes*, in the *Revue archéologique*, second series, vol. xix. p. 341). Cf. HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 183. To the same order of ideas belong certain figures of cows suckling their calves, which were found near those of the nursing goddesses (CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 158).

[2] PLUTARCH, *Theseus*, xx. 4.

[3] HEUZEY, *Figurines antiques de Terre Cuite du Musée du Louvre*, plate ix. fig. 7. *Catalogue*, p. 170. DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, plate iv. fig. 1.

pressing the milk from them.[1] This same motive is to be found in some of those barbarous figures of which we have already, perhaps, given as many examples as are necessary. But even in later times it did not lose its vogue; we find it repeated in many



FIG. 101.—Seated statue. Limestone. New York Museum.

images of much more advanced technique, as in two statuettes (Figs. 45 and 103), in which the goddess wears an ample necklace almost hiding her neck. In these figures the hair is carefully



FIG. 102.—Terra-cotta group. Louvre.

arranged in long curls on each side of the face. On the other hand it is to a much later period that we must refer the limestone statuette reproduced in Fig. 104. The execution is heavy but all

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plate vi.

trace of archaic stiffness has vanished and with it the hanging tresses and spreading trinkets; the motive is realized in the simplest and most abstract fashion; there is nothing to divide our attention with the idea on which the sculptor wished to concentrate it.

Sometimes, but much more rarely, this deity is draped. In that case her robe is open in front, like that of a nurse, while with her left hand she applies a cone to her right breast; the cone is, perhaps, a phallic symbol.[1]

It has also been asserted that the type of the famous Aphrodite of Cnidus is to be found in Phœnicia and Cyprus, and even that

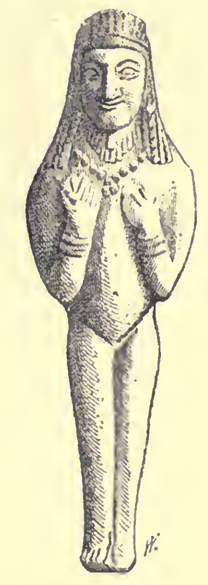


FIG. 103.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 6 inches. From Heuzey.

the chain of ideas by which Praxiteles had his attention drawn to a motive foreign enough to the Greek genius may there be traced.[2]

The theme lends itself to curious reflections, which have, we think, been carried rather too far. The age of those Cypriot and Asiatic figurines upon which this notion is founded should first have been clearly ascertained.

[1] I do not know where the figure here alluded to now is. I saw the drawing of it in the possession of G. Colonna Ceccaldi; it was not reproduced with the other drawings found among his papers, in the volume of his collected articles.

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *Essai sur les Fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 160-165.

Among the statuettes with which the series of Cypriot terracottas begins there are, no doubt, a few which might be thought by

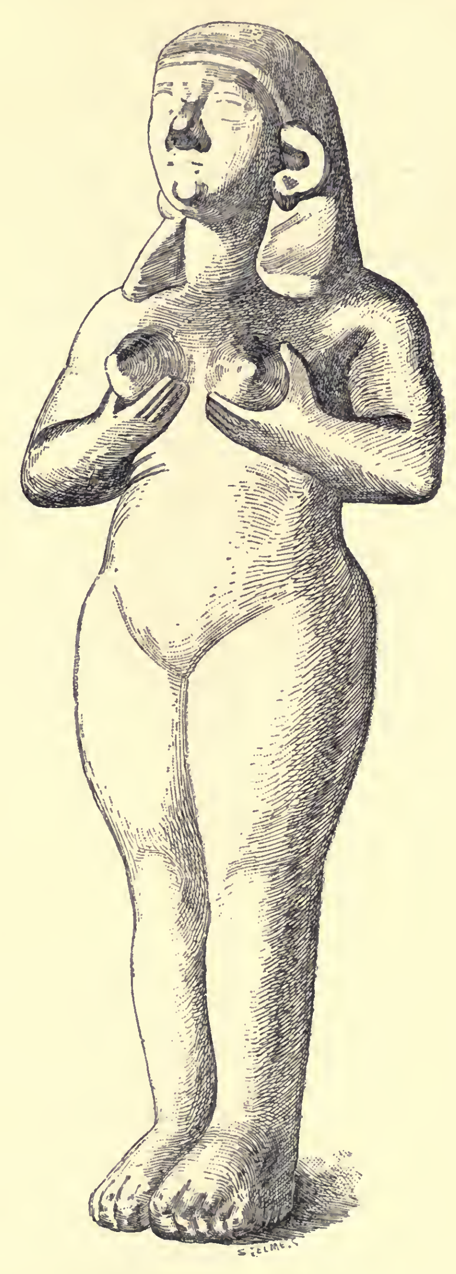


FIG. 104.—Limestone statuette. Height 12¼ inches. Louvre.

a superficial observer to have something in common with the Cnidian Aphrodite. Such, for example, is the one found in the

necropolis of Amathus;[1] but if we look at it carefully we find in the first place that the action of the arms is quite different from that of the Cnidian Venus. The *left* hand presses the *left* breast, while the right hand is placed on the large and protuberant stomach. All that we can gather from this is an allusion to approaching maternity, showing the figure to be merely a goddess of fertility.

But examples have been pointed to in which the resemblance is much closer, in which the motive is essentially the same as in the great masterpiece of Cnidus. A certain figure in the Louvre has



FIG. 105.—Terra-cotta statuette of unknown origin. Height 8 inches. Louvre.

been published and described by one of the masters of contemporary archæology as the *Phœnician prototype of the Venus de Medicis.*[2] But Curtius was misled by imperfect information. The museum catalogue says nothing as to the place where the figure in question (Fig. 105) was found, and there is no reason to assign it a Phœnician

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 275. The woodcut given by Cesnola is so poor that we have not cared to reproduce it here, even as a piece of evidence.

[2] *Das Phœnikische urbild der Medicischen Venus*, article by E. CURTIUS in the *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1869, p. 63.

origin. Neither in handling nor material does it resemble pieces from Syria or Cyprus. The greenish-grey of the paste and the general character of the execution are, in M. Heuzey's opinion, quite those of Babylonian figures dating from the late Parthian epoch; he is inclined, in fact, to place our statuette among the very late productions of Oriental art.[1]

On the other hand, the same motive reappears on a Louvre figurine the *provenance* of which is known (Fig. 106). It was found by Mr. Lang, at Livadia, near Larnaca; so that it comes



FIG. 106.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 8 inches. Louvre. From Heuzey.

most likely from the workshops of Kition.[2] Imitation of Egypt may be traced in the arrangement of the headdress, but that of a freer art, which can have been no other than the art of Greece, may be divined in the slender elegance of the forms, especially of

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 108. Under the necklace there are certain figures in relief in which some have recognized Greek characters used to write some other language. If we may put faith in the memory of M. Guillaume Rey—whose liberality has greatly enriched the Louvre collections—the figure in question was sold to him, in Syria, as having come originally from Hillah, near Bagdad.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 199.

the limbs and torso. The old hesitating Egypto-Phœnician style (Vol. I. Figs. 143, 144; Vol. II. Fig. 67) has completely disappeared; although the figure is modelled on a flat background it stands boldly out from it. The artist is not embarrassed by technical difficulties; all he wants is the stamp of originality; he has in full the commonplace dexterity which is the mark and defect of times in which people know much and invent little. The figure is certainly not older than the Ptolemies, perhaps it is not so old.

Must we conclude from all this that these two figures are unworthy daughters of the Cnidian Aphrodite? Hardly was it set up in its destined place than the statue of Praxiteles had a prodigious success, which it owed both to the originality of its motives, and the beauty of its forms. This we know from the countless reproductions still extant; it was copied sometimes in marble, sometimes in clay, and in every studio of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; thus its portrait was carried to the farthest borders of civilization. Under such conditions is there anything to surprise us in the fact that Cyprus disguised the Greek goddess under an Egyptian coif, and that, later still, the gross and heavy hand of decaying Babylon should have been guilty of even more cruel disfigurement? Such an hypothesis seems likely enough, but before we can make sure of the true relation, we must wait until new discoveries enable us to follow the type through all the changes forced upon it by the habits of schools still Oriental in many of their traditions. At present we may say that, among all the Asiatic figures mentioned, at one time or another, as having suggested to Praxiteles the idea and pose handed down to us by the Venus of the Capitol and the Venus de Medicis, there is not one to which an earlier date than the fourth century can be assigned; in fact the archæologist would perhaps be within his right in bringing them one and all down to a still later period. We should not like to declare in so many words that they are imitations of the Cnidian Aphrodite, but it has, we think, been shown that they could not have been its prototype.[1]

To us it seems very unlikely that the pose of the Cnidian Venus will ever be found in a really ancient Asiatic figure. In

[1] The credit of having been the first to expose an error which was beginning to win acceptance is due to M. Heuzey and his inquiries into the technique and probable age of the statuettes in question.

the early statuettes carried from Chaldæa into Phœnicia and Cyprus, the gesture of the hands calls attention to those parts of the female person in which the child is first developed, and afterwards nourished. This is a naïvely direct and brutal allusion to the mysteries of generation. The idea by which the Grecian artist was moved was quite distinct; in spite of superficial analogies, the gesture of his goddess was different, and had a totally different meaning: in the Oriental model the hands draw attention to what in the Greek statue, they conceal; the action of the latter is an instinctive movement of shame, the outcome of the most delicate instincts of woman, when refined and cultivated by civilization.

There is yet another and a very strange variant upon the type of the Oriental goddess, a variant for which an ancient text had already prepared us. "In Cyprus," says Macrobius, "there is an image of Venus in which she is represented with a beard, dressed like a woman, but with the stature of a man, and holding a sceptre in her hand."[1] This figure, he adds, was meant to unite the attributes of the two sexes, so that it might be considered at once male and female: "*quod eadem et mas existimatur et femina.*" Some archæologists have wished to recognize this androgynous deity in the fine statue known as the *Priest with the dove* (Fig. 73), but the latter seems rather to be one of those votive images so numerous in the temple where it was found, at least if we may judge from the restoration carried out immediately after the excavations at Athieno. Cesnola is rather inclined to see the bearded Venus of Macrobius in a votive figure, two examples of which he found in the cemetery of Amathus.[2] Traces of colour were still quite visible on both statuettes; red on the lips, black on the beard, eyebrows, and pupils. According to the photographs sent to me and the particulars accompanying them, the sex was clearly marked in both cases with the help of the paint-brush. These marks have been faithfully reproduced by our draughtsman (Fig. 107). We have not seen the original, however, and doubts are suggested by the absence of any sign of the feminine gender in the contour of the breast, and by the presence of a long tight tunic, which throws some doubt upon the genuineness of the painted *pudenda*.

Before we can allow that sculpture made use of the theme mentioned by Macrobius, some figure must be found in which the

[1] MACROBIUS, *Saturnales*, iii. 8.   [2] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 132.

intentions of the artist are more frankly declared. The statuette here reproduced was buried for many long ages in the ground, and the daub of colour to which so much importance has been attached may be the result of some accidental contact.

For the moment, then, we shall not insist upon this fantastic type and the ideas it was meant to express, but proceed with our study of the various envelopes put on by the famous deity to whom the great temples of Cyprus were dedicated.

So far we have seen her either nude or nearly so; but as the modeller became familiar with his work and conquered one

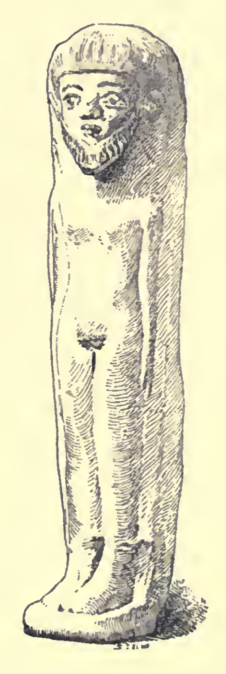


FIG. 107.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 6 inches. New York Museum.

technical difficulty after another, he endeavoured to show her in another aspect; he wished to load her with the rich jewels and embroidered vestments which the temple priests hung on some of the statues, and even about that sacred cone to which the place of honour in the sanctuary was assigned. Thenceforward the images of our goddess may be divided into two series both of which survived until the day they came under the influence of Greek art.

The oldest members of the group of draped figures appear to be those with cylindro-conical bases. In spite of their conventional character, they are not without a certain elegance.

Some, indeed, are quite rude, but in more than one example the head and the bust with its swelling breasts are treated with conspicuous care. All modelling ends at the waist; there are neither hips nor legs; the body disappears, so to speak, in a kind of column enlarged at the base. It is easy to understand how such a form came into use. The flat statuettes described above required either to be hung or fastened against a wall, while these could stand on their own bases. In after years further progress was made and the plinth invented, so that a figure could stand upright without the sacrifice of its own lower limbs.

But even after plinths had come into use for other things, these little figures must long have preserved the shape consecrated to them by tradition. The statuette reproduced in our Fig. 108 is quite skilful in technique; the cylinder is hollow and thin in the walls while the whole is carefully coloured with the brush. In the design of eyes and mouth we may perceive traces of the influence of Greek archaism; but the headdress, the jewels, and the costume have nothing Hellenic about them. Apparently the goddess here wears a wig. Our readers will remember that both in Egypt and Assyria such things were used in order to give a becoming frame to the heads of gods and kings. Here the black, artificial locks hang over the shoulders in broad masses, symmetrically plaited. The ears are invisible; as in many other Cypriot figures in stone and clay they are hidden under a very curious kind of ornament. In the statuette now being described, and in several other fragments which we have been enabled to examine very closely, the ornament in question is quite distinct from the hair; the boundary between the two is accurately followed by the coat of paint—in this case red paint—with which the former is covered. The artist has been doing his best to reproduce a kind of conch shell, of gold, gilded bronze, or silver. On its convex face, bosses, like those raised by the hammer in *repoussé* work, may be distinguished. In one of the heads in the Louvre in which, thanks to the size of the figure, the nature of this ornament can be more clearly grasped, earrings are seen hanging through it. As for how it was fixed, it may have been held by a pin passed through the hair or even hung to that hole in the upper lobe of the ear which we find in so many Phœnician statuettes![1] However this may have been, the fashion was

[1] See above, p. 69.

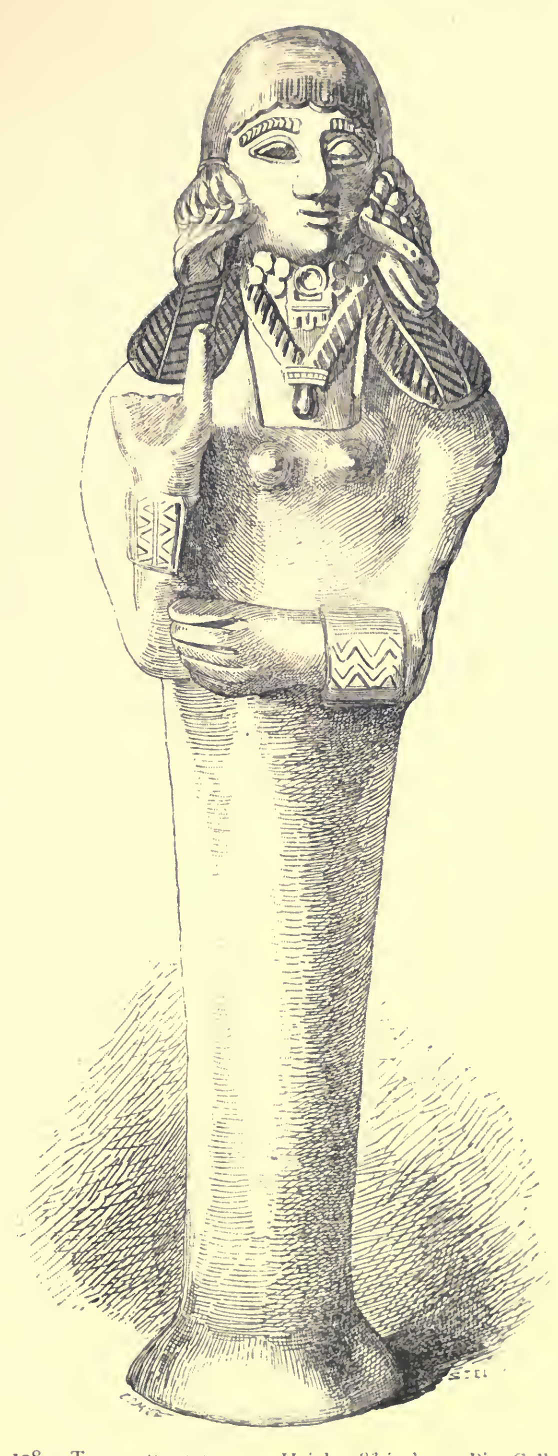


FIG. 108.—Terra-cotta statuette. Height 18¾ inches. Piot Collection.



apparently local; we find it on no antique remains but these Cypriot figures, and there its details are only to be mastered in such examples as have not lost every trace of colour.[1]

But we have not finished with our statuette. Round the neck and just above a kind of bib-shaped pectoral, a wide necklace of several strings entirely covers the throat. The robe has cuffs with zigzag decorations. In the idol here coarsely reproduced all these jewels must have been of gold, like those of Cypriot women of high rank; the sparkle of glass, of rock crystal and carnelians must have mingled with the brilliancy of metal, while the embroiderer's needle may have lavished its skill on the robe. The result was, no doubt, gorgeous enough, but a little heavy; the throat was invisible and the head must have been rather overwhelmed in its weight of jewelry.

The statuette just described shows only the upper half of the robe; other varieties of the type must be sought elsewhere, and Cypriot iconography can furnish several. Here is one that deserves notice (Fig. 109). A richly dressed female stands upon a curiously shaped plinth with two small heads attached to its under side. Originally there were four heads, the fragments of as many supporting figures. The personage thus upheld must have been a goddess, and we have no hesitation in identifying her with the great Phœnician deity as she was shown to the people on those high festivals when the tour of the sacred inclosure was made.

She is upright, and in full dress. She wears a broad band across her forehead, while her hair falls in numerous tresses all round her head. There are two necklaces, a plain circle and a triple row of pearls closed by a square clasp. The fore-arm is embraced at the wrist by half bracelets ending in goats' heads and kept in place by the elasticity of the metal. The outer robe, apparently made of a fine soft stuff, is open in front so as to display an under dress coming down only to the instep in front but covering the heels behind, and with a long train which the goddess gathers up in her left hand; in her right hand she holds a flower. The drapery as a whole is heavy in spite of the effort to vary its aspect by symmetrical folds and zigzag lines of embroidery.[2]

[1] This strange ornament may be compared to the silver plates worn in much the same way by the Dutchwomen of Friesland.

[2] DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, plate i. fig. 2. CECCALDI, *Monuments antiques de Cypre*, p. 243, n. 1.

In all the figures hitherto decribed it has been impossible to avoid recognizing the Phœnician goddess from whom Cyprus derived most of its fame. After her the most important divine personage in Cypriot religion and in the Cypriot studios seems to have been a god who quickly became confounded with the Greek Herakles. His image is found in all collections of Cypriot antiquities; and it is likely that one, at least, of the ruined temples at Athieno was dedicated in his honour.



Fig. 109.—Limestone statuette. Height 10 inches. New York Museum.

Some of his characteristics seem to be taken from that "Egypto-Phœnician figure of the god Bes in which we see, perhaps, the oldest existing caricature." [1] We know that Bes was sometimes figured as a great hunter and slayer of monsters (Figs. 19 and

[1] Heuzey, *Papposilene et le Dieu Bes* (*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1884, p. 162).

20), and at first sight we are almost tempted to see an image of him in the Colossus discovered at Amathus in 1873 and now in the Imperial Museum of Constantinople (Fig. 110).[1] Anything stranger or more hideous could scarcely be imagined. The huge ears are covered with hair inside; the head is crowned with two short horns with a hole behind them, in which, perhaps, a plume like that on the heads of Bes was fixed. The hair all radiates from the edge of this hole; it is short in front and plastered down upon the brow; it is long at the back and divided into three heavy tresses which fall upon the neck and shoulders. The square-cut beard is curled in a fashion similar to that of the Assyrian Colossi. The arms are decorated with chevrons, probably tattoo-marks, a barbarous ornament to be found on several Egyptian figures of Bes.[2] The body is covered with small cuts, representing hairs; a lion's skin is held about the loins by a buckle. In each hand the god holds the hind leg of a lioness whose fore-paws touch the ground. Her head was attached by tenons and is now missing. The mouth must have been pierced as a conduit, for a rectangular pipe led from the back of her head through the whole thickness of the group.

In later times the Greeks made Silenus play the same useful part; the water flowed from the skin which he carried on his shoulder or pressed between his arms; and Silenus is one of those types to the making of which went more than one feature of the Asiatic Bes.[3]

What name should we give to this colossus? By his large face, round eyes and thick eyebrows, by the hairiness of his trunk and limbs, he seems related to Silenus and the fauns; but Silenus was no destroyer of wild beasts, and moreover it has been truly remarked that so far Cyprus has not yielded a single monument connected, in any degree, with the Dionysiac cycle.[4] No statue either of stone or terra-cotta has been found representing either Bacchus himself or any one of the genii who formed his *cortége.* In Cyprus the Asiatic goddess had no rivalry to fear from the

[1] Sorlin-Dorigny, *Statue colossale découverte à Amathonte* (*Gazette archéologique,* 1879, p. 230 and plate xxi.). Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée impérial d'Antiquités,* pp. 48-49.

[2] *Art in Ancient Egypt,* Vol. II. Fig. 294.

[3] The paper by M. Heuzey, quoted on the preceding page, is chiefly devoted to throwing light upon this analogy between Bes and Silenus.

[4] Heuzey, *Catalogue,* p. 178.

Thracian god; in such an island there was no room for two of those nature divinities whose voluptuous rites had such an effect upon men's minds and senses.

Putting Silenus aside, must we then identify this creature with Bes? But Bes himself was only a lion-slayer by exception, and besides, sculpture in large never seems to have made use of him; his grotesque features were better fitted for reproduction in small. And we may point out that although the personage here figured is formless and bestial enough, he is different from the obese, grimacing dwarf we often met with in Egypt and Syria (Vol. I. Fig. 21, and above, Fig. 18). In this figure the sculptor has been more in earnest; his colossus is not entirely a caricature of humanity. The head and shoulders are much exaggerated, but beyond that there is no great departure from possibility. Strength in repose is the dominant note of the work.

In spite of its grotesque clumsiness this group is of no little importance in the history of art. It is difficult to decide whether it represents some Oriental God or the son of Alcmena, the Herakles of the Greek poets. It is certain, however, that the idea of a deity at once terrible and beneficent, the destroyer of wild beasts and the protector of man, was not strange to the east. It found expression in Chaldæa, in those images of Izdubar and Hea-bani which were cut on so many cylinders and furnished so many suggestions to the sculptors and engravers of Phœnicia.[1] There we find the same nudity, the same muscular limbs, the same animal's ears on the head of a man, the thick mane-like hair, the wide beard falling over the chest; Hea-bani and Izdubar, too, are lion-slayers. Such representations may have combined with the Egyptian Bes to suggest the rude hunter of the Phœnician scarabs (Figs. 28 and 29). They may have afforded a point of departure for the Cypriot sculptors. We shall see that Hellenic art took up the same motive and worked it out more simply and with a greater sense of beauty. We do not pretend to recognize this superiority in the colossus from Amathus, but even in these rude contours we see it foreshadowed.

The Greek genius did not absolutely create its ideal of Herakles; the elements were borrowed from previous embodiments of the same notion. Thus the Asiatic sculptor, when he wished to express irresistible strength, made great use of the

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 35, 142, 147.

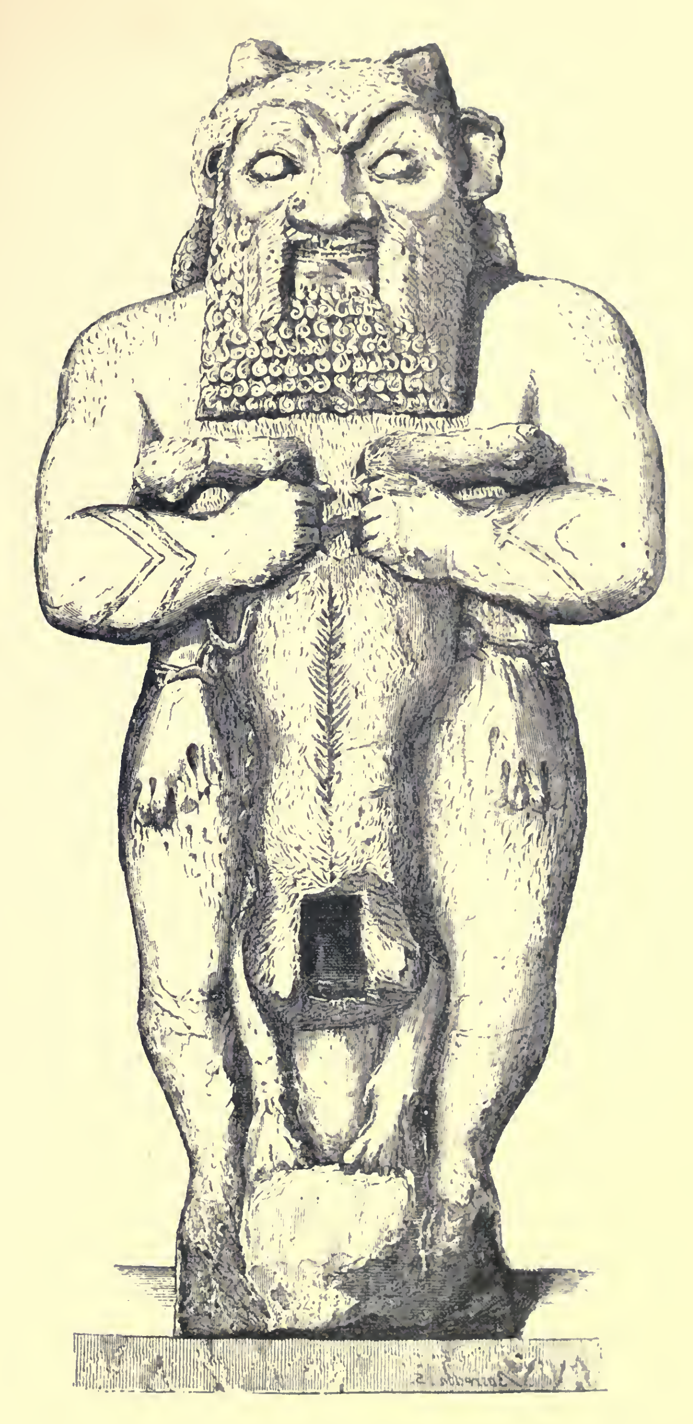


FIG. 110.—The Colossus of Amathus. Height 14 feet; width across the shoulders 6 feet 8 inches. Constantinople Museum.



lion, the formidable beast which the kings of Assyria took such pride in slaying. When called upon to figure a god or hero, he was often content to show him victorious over a lion; sometimes he set him on a lion's back, at others he showed the animal writhing in agony under the terrible hug of his human conqueror. Such a symbol could be understood by all; but it was no more than a symbol, a kind of hieroglyphic.

When Greek art began to concern itself with the same motive it had a different ambition. It wished to make the vigour of the divine personality sensible to the eye. Chaldæan art had caught a glimpse of the right path when it set the frankly naked Hea-bani and Izdubar in a world of draped figures. But it was so accustomed to conceal all human shapes under a mass of drapery, that it could only render the nude very imperfectly, and, it would seem, on the small scale adapted for cylinders and other glyptic works. Egypt, too, had created the type of Bes, but had failed to adapt it to the conditions of sculpture in large; the figures carried in such numbers to every port in the Levant were always small and light. The Greeks were the first to endow the type with the nobility required by a colossus or even by a life size statue. Hea-bani, Izdubar, Bes, the pygmy god, all give an impression of great physical strength, but of a strength incompatible with those rhythmical movements by which general nobility and a happy proportion of parts are insured. With these latter qualities the Greek Herakles even in his earlier days, the Herakles of Homer and Hesiod, was fully endowed.

The nascent art of Cyprus turned, then, to the East for the features it required. It made its choice and made it with taste. Although there were lions neither in Greece nor Cyprus, the habit of associating the god of strength with the conquest of that animal was not allowed to die out; it provided a symbol that none could mistake, so that it remained in use but only as a simple accessory. The lion himself was dispensed with and indicated only by his skin, which was sometimes knotted about the hips of his conqueror but more often thrown over his head and shoulders. Thenceforward arrangements which allowed but few changes of attitude disappeared; the god was no longer perched on the back of the beast; symmetrical combats from which all idea of a real struggle was absent were discarded, and the manly shape of the deity was required to express in itself, by the amplitude of its

forms and the solidity of its framework, all that was implied in a god of strength.

Before this giant from Amathus we are, as it were, assisting at the birth of a new type which was to be brought to gradual perfection by successive retouches. Were its chief features furnished by Bes or by Izdubar? We have some hesitation on this point because we seem to recognize the influence of different models. The head-dress, the tattoo marks, the hairy limbs, the lion skin on the back, all these seem to be taken from Bes; the large face surrounded by what looks more like a lion's mane than the hair of a man is common to both Izdubar and Bes; but the treatment of the beard is Assyrian rather than Egypto-Phœnician. And as for the movement of the arms which hold up the lioness by her hind legs, it finds a prototype in a whole series of Asiatic monuments (Figs. 7, 8, 10, 19). The latest of the series shows a motive adopted by archaic Greek art, we mean the figure known to archæologists as the *Persian Artemis*. Here the lion's skin is not yet thrown over the head, but the time is near when that was to be recognized as the right, and by far the most effective, position.

Cypriot collections contain a whole series of figures, mostly found at Athieno, in which the care lavished by the sculptors of the island on the type in question is clearly shown. They did not cling blindly to the nudity with which they had started; seeing the character of their sculpture as a whole they were sure to make an early attempt to clothe their god. We can see them hesitating between two paths. One of the most important and best preserved statues found by Cesnola at Golgos is a colossus nearly ten feet high, which is certainly meant for Hercules.[1] Here the god wears the lion's skin on his head; his left hand brandishes a club while his right grasps a bundle of arrows. This statue is draped, and it may have been the temple statue, the chief idol. Nothing is bare but the legs; the torso is covered with a sort of tight tunic held in at the waist by a girdle. But the case is different when we turn to one of the bas-reliefs on the pedestal (Fig. 111).[2]

In this relief we see figured one of the labours of Hercules;

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 132-135, *&c.*, and plate xii.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 136-137. CECCALDI, *Monuments antiques*, *&c.*, pp. 55-56.

the task which was to be known in after years as the carrying off of the herds of Geryon. To the left of the spectator Hercules stands naked upon an elevation of the ground. He wears the lion's skin on his back; the tail hanging down between his legs. His left leg is advanced. His body is almost effaced and his head has disappeared. The right arm, only partly visible, is raised and bent at the elbow; the hand, no doubt, brandished a club or some such weapon. At the feet of the god stands a personage about half his height. The relief is divided into two stages, and the figure of Hercules was originally tall enough to run through both.

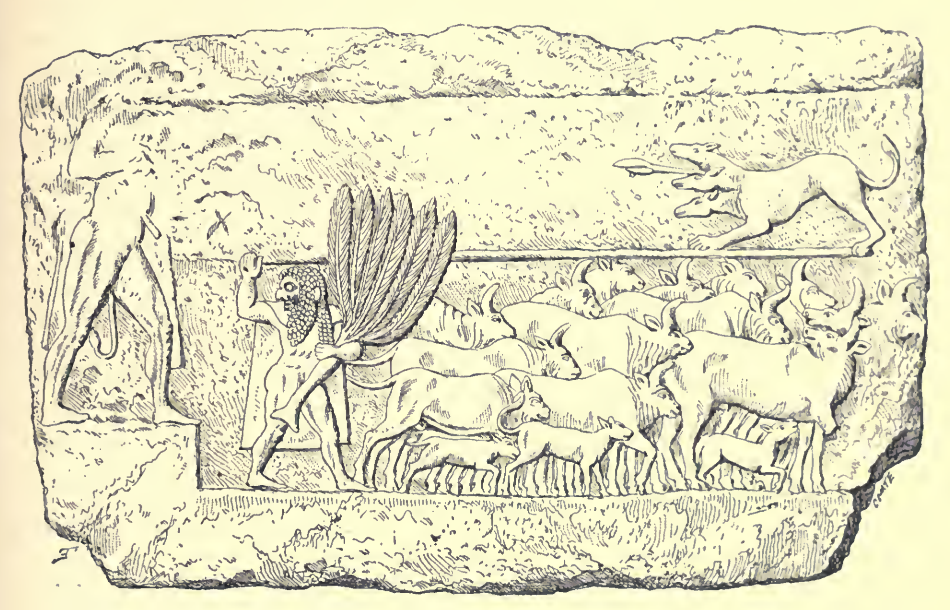


FIG. 111.—Bas-relief from Athieno. Height 21 inches. New York Museum. From Ceccaldi.

In the upper stage the three-headed dog Orthros faces the god. At first sight it looks as if he had already been transfixed by a dart, but on looking more closely we see that the point of the arrow is turned towards Hercules. There is no possibility of mistake; in order to add to the terrors inspired by such an animal, the sculptor has actually provided him with a kind of pike, a strange detail which was not borrowed by the artists of a later age.

In the lower story we see the herds of Geryon; bulls, cows and calves, crowding on together. Behind them comes the shepherd Eurytion, who is naked like the god; at least he is practically

naked, for his action throws his only garment, a long cloak, entirely behind him. Looking back towards Hercules he seems to threaten him with his right hand, while he presses an uprooted willow across his chest with his left. His hooked nose and curly hair and beard recall the Assyrian sculptors. A curious resemblance may also be traced between the herds which here fly before Hercules and those driven by Assyrian conquerors in the Ninevite reliefs.[1]

This myth of the triple Geryon seems to have been very popular in Cyprus, which is surprising when we remember that it was in the distant west that the poets laid the scene of the exploit.[2] The remains of no less than three groups representing the monster have been found at Golgos. In the largest of the three, all the heads are missing, while they are at least partially preserved in the two smaller. The one we reproduce is the most broken of the three, but some curious details may be noticed upon it (Fig. 112). Thus the three shields are decorated with figures whose contours have suffered not a little, but among which we may distinguish warriors armed with the lance and buckler. Lower down, on what must have been a kind of cuirass, two personages are struggling with lions; their head-dresses and short tunics seem to proclaim Egyptians. The execution of the figure as a whole is heavy; the legs are bare, the three left are advanced while the three right are kept in the background and only slightly blocked out. No doubt the theme was a most ungrateful one for the sculptor, but the Cypriot artist has made no attempt to lessen its difficulties or to adapt it for plastic treatment.

There is nothing in the myth of Geryon to suggest a Phœnician origin. Until proof to the contrary we shall look upon it as Hellenic, both in form and essence; whence it follows that those monuments in which the triple giant appears date from a time posterior to that which saw the influence of Greek poetry invade the kingdom of Kition, the most essentially Phœnician part of the island. But among the statues found upon the site of what seems to have been a temple of Hercules, there are some whose

[1] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Fig. 30, and Vol. II. Fig. 63.

[2] HESIOD, *Theogony*, v. 287 *et seq.* Other traditions localise the myth in Epirus, in the neighbourhod of Ambracia or Apollonia (HECATEUS, fragm. 343. SCYLAX, *Periplus*, p. 26); but we do not find that it ever had anything to do with Phœnicia or the island of Cyprus.



FIG. 112.—The triple Geryon. Limestone statue. Height 22 inches. New York Museum.



physiognomy differs sensibly from that of the classic deity. Look, for instance, at this armless statuette (Fig. 113);[1] we should be puzzled to give it even an approximate date. The rude, harsh countenance, the lion's skin about the head and shoulders, the short tunic and the garment over it, the bare legs, are all blunt and heavy in modelling. This figure can hardly be as old as the



FIG. 113.—Limestone statue of Hercules. New York Museum.

relief with the herds of Geryon, in which the handling is much firmer and more precise; and yet we find a quite oriental motive in one curious detail, namely, the lion's cub which clings like a cat to the flank of the hero.[2]

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 155-156.
[2] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 162.

Side by side with these figures in which exotic motives persist, a number of others show the Cypriot Hercules tending ever more and more to become confounded with that of Greece; but even in the statues whose style is most advanced it is rare to find one which does not betray its oriental origin in some little detail. Take, for instance, the Louvre statuette here reproduced (Fig. 114). It has the right arm and the lower part of the legs broken off, but all the rest is in excellent condition. The left hand leans upon a club;

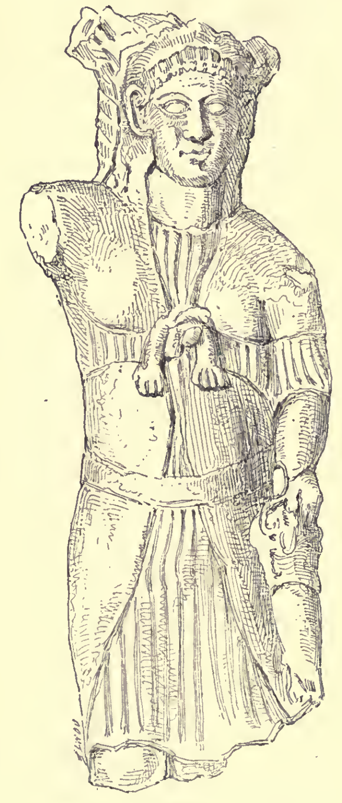


FIG. 114.—Limestone statue of Hercules. Height 17 inches. Louvre.

the lion's skin covers head and shoulders like a hood; the paws are tied into a knot on the chest. In all this there is nothing that cannot be found on many another Hercules of different origin, but it is not so with the curiously shaped upper garment, widely open in front, which is held in place over the plaited tunic by a tight girdle.

Here the god is beardless and quite juvenile in appearance; he is far enough removed from the Amathus giant with his great

curly beard. But as if to avoid a complete rupture with ancient traditions, he is sometimes endowed with a youthful beard, which gives his countenance a look of greater virility (Figs. 113 and 115).

After Aphrodite the god to whom the greatest number of statues was raised in the kingdoms of Kition and Idalion, was, then, the deity who became finally confounded with the Greek Herakles.[1] As to whether the Phœnicians called him Melkart, or Esmoun, or as we find it on many epigraphic texts from Kition, Melkart-Esmoun, we cannot say for certain.[2] None of the dedicatory inscriptions addressed to those deities have come down to us with any such figured representation as might have enabled us to identify the gods to whom they were addressed.



FIG. 115.—Fragment of a limestone statue of Hercules. Height 25 inches. Louvre.

There is another god whose images should, if we judge from the inscriptions, be found on the temple sites of the same district ; I mean that Reshef-hes or Reshef-Mikal in whom the Cypriot Greeks recognized the Amyclean Apollo. In Greek and Phœnician inscriptions we find mention of several statues and other offerings made to him by the island princes.[3] Some have wished to

[1] We have already pointed out the place he held upon the coins struck by the kings of Kition, as well as upon those of the Phœnician princes.

[2] *Corpus Insc. Semit.* Pars. I. Nos. 16, 23, and 24.

[3] *Corpus Insc. Semit.* Pars. I. Nos. 10, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94. According to FR. LENORMANT (writing under the pseudonym of E. de Chanot) the temple of Athieno on the site of which so many figures and inscriptions were found, was consecrated

recognize this deity in the figures covered sometimes with the pschent or a cloth cap, sometimes with a garland of leaves, of which we have already given more than one example ;[1] but most of these, when entire, hold in their hands some such object as a bird, a bull's head, a flower, the branch of a tree, suggesting worshippers rather than gods. And their attitudes confirm this interpretation ; there is at least one statue of the series by which a praying Mussulman is vividly suggested (Fig. 74.)

It is impossible to say what name should be given to the personage represented in a small terra-cotta found in the cemetery at Alambra, near Dali (Fig. 116). He holds a sceptre and stands behind an altar, at the back of a niche adorned with the Phœnician symbol of a disk and crescent. The masonry of the pavilion is indicated by alternate stripes of black and red paint. The most

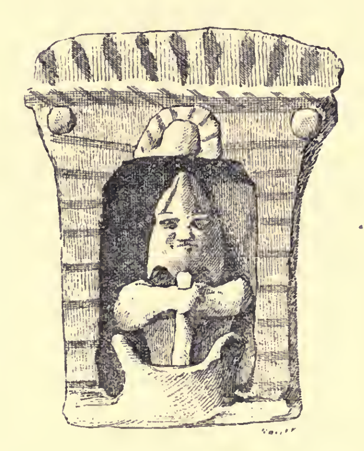


FIG. 116.—God crowned with a tiara. Height 5¼ inches. Louvre.

curious thing about this idol is its horned conical cap. In this we see, no doubt, a motive borrowed from Mesopotamia and a new proof of the influence over Cypriot art wielded at one time by Assyria.[2]

to a triad, which must have been the triad of Tyre, composed of Astarte-Aphrodite, Melkart-Heracles, and Reshef-Apollo (*Gazette archéologique*, 1878, p. 194, in an article entitled, *Statues iconiques du temple d'Athiénau*). The hypothesis seems probable enough ; it is not within the scope of our work to dispute or attempt to confirm it. It belongs mainly to the history of religious, while our concern is with that of plastic art. CECCALDI (*Monuments antiques de Cypre*, p. 75) reproduces a "sacrifice and dance to Apollo," but it is a debased production.

[1] A. ENMANN, *On the Origin of the Cypriote Syllabary* (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1882-3, pp. 115-116.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 151.

It was important that we should show by a carefully chosen series of examples that the divine images adored in the oldest temples of the island began by having a very pronounced Asiatic character; this is not the place, however, to point out other sacred types which are equally to be found in the island, but only in works essentially Hellenic in style and spirit. At present we have to confine ourselves to those divinities, the offspring of Egypt and Chaldæa, whose worship always preserved traces of its origin. As for the gods and goddesses carried by the Æolian colonists and other Hellens to that distant island in the east, there to lead, if we may be allowed the phrase, a thoroughly Greek existence, we shall encounter them at a later stage of our journey. For the present, then, we shall say nothing of the two female figures on a single throne in which Demeter and Persephone have been recognized;[1] neither shall we follow the type of Aphrodite in the transformations it underwent at the hands of a school of modellers of Salamis and Kition, who ended by producing works not unworthy, in their graceful severity, to be compared to the noblest and purest achievements of Greece.[2] We shall devote a chapter in our history of Grecian art to a description of those charming terra-cottas.

§ 6.—*Men.*

After gods, men. All over Cyprus figures have been discovered with nothing, either in pose or attitude, to suggest a god. They represent the ancient inhabitants of the island; represent them as they lived, in their daily occupations and in their working and gala clothes.

Some of these figures come from tombs, from the society of the dead; others were found on or near the sites of temples, where it was their duty to prolong the prayers and record the gratitude of the faithful.[3] This difference of origin is important but it will hardly furnish elements for a classification. In our museums the two categories are not kept separate, and it is now impossible to discover whether this or that monument was found in a graveyard or within the precincts of a shrine. As a rule figures placed in tombs were small, while excavations made on temple sites have yielded

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 173-198.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 264-268.

statues approaching life size and even exceeding it. But only rich people could afford such costly gifts as these. When the worshipper belonged to the middle or lower class, his patron god had to be content with a stone or clay statuette. In the frequent absence of trustworthy information, we cannot attempt to distribute these monuments between the two classes. We may, however, classify them to some extent by their relative age, and probable significance.

In such tombs as those of Alambra, which appear to date from a remote antiquity, many figures of foot-soldiers, cavaliers, and charioteers have been found (Vol. I. Fig. 149). Many of these are quite barbarous in execution; the forms are indicated in the rudest fashion, the robe only by a few daubs of red or black paint. The workmen employed by MM. Ceccaldi, Lang and Cesnola, had a name of their own for these statuettes. When they were questioned as to the contents of this or that tomb in which, perhaps, nothing but these little figures had been encountered, they answered; "We have found nothing but poor people, τι ποτὲ παρὰ πτωχούς."

These "poor people," many of which seem to have been modelled by a child with its thumb, are not without interest, however; when not quite formless, they preserve for us the costume and armament of a Cypriot soldier. They show the form and make of the conical cap so often encountered in the large statues (Figs. 73 and 75) very clearly indeed; in one or two examples this is very summarily modelled (Vol. I. Fig. 149), but in others it is provided with those flaps which could be worn either over the ears or drawn up along the crown (Vol. I. Plate II. Figs. 1 and 2). Arms of offence were either not indicated at all or added in distinct pieces, for they have all disappeared. But in almost every case there is a round shield or buckler, decorated with concentric circles in red or black paint, which must be intended to represent strips of metal used to strengthen the shield, which was most likely of wood or basket-work covered with leather. In the centre there is a salient boss from which the decoration radiates. In the example we reproduce, a well known motive, the alternation of lotus leaves and flowers, occurs (Vol. I. Plate II. Fig. 1). Horsemen are also introduced, the harness of their steeds being shown in colour. On one of the Louvre examples the horse has the *crux ansata* on that part of the neck where orientals



Imp. E. Fraillery



still hang a cross as an amulet. The mane is cut in the Greek fashion.[1]

War and pleasure chariots were also found in considerable numbers. The Louvre possesses many examples but none in such good preservation as the one from Phœnicia already figured (Vol. I. Fig. 145). The most complete specimen is a small war chariot the body of which is painted green, and the under-carriage red. The wheels and horses are in separate pieces. Two warriors are mounted upon it, as upon the Homeric chariots; one holds the reins while the other bears a huge round shield with a very salient conical boss in the centre.[2] In another chariot, however, we find three persons, a draped figure, a driver and another servant; in another we find two bearded individuals (Fig. 117); in a third, much broken, there is a wild boar hung on to the curved bars at the back. Flat carts, such as were used for the transport of

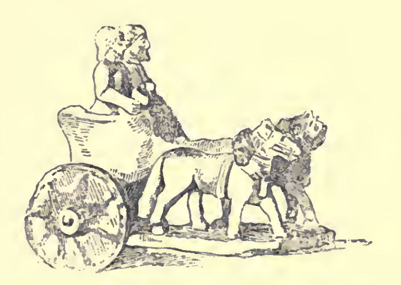


FIG. 117.—Terra-cotta chariot. New York Museum.

merchandise and agricultural produce, are also found.[3] Finally, we see that the horse was not the only beast of burden employed in Cyprus; here we find a pannier-laden donkey (Fig. 118), there another member of the same species mounted by a peasant embracing a pair of huge water-bottles (Fig. 119).

There seems to be no doubt that nearly all these soldiers, horsemen, and chariots come from tombs. According to Cesnola they give us a hint as to the profession of their occupants.[4] But such a suggestion can only be accepted with some reserve. No doubt it is "natural enough to find some connection between these little figures and the condition, while alive, of those beside whom they were placed," but that is not quite the same thing as declaring

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 153.
[2] *Ib. Terres-cuites du Louvre*, plate x. fig. 2.
[3] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 152.
[4] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 93.

that the first cause of the habit in question was to point out the worldly rank and condition of the deceased. In fact, another case pointed out by General di Cesnola himself gives us a different idea as to the significance attached to these sepulchral terra-cottas. "In



FIG. 118.—Ass with panniers. Terra-cotta. New York Museum.

a tomb at Alambra a whole procession of cars and chariots was found; they were filled with men, women, and players on the flute, and accompanied by horses and mules loaded with panniers



FIG. 119.—Ass with water-bearer. Terra-cotta. New York Museum.

and amphoræ; it was, in fact, a whole family with servants, &c., on a journey . . . .[1] This curious scene furnishes an explanation for a

[1] See CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 94, and DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, plate xiv. figs. 12-17.

large number of detached pieces and homely groups which could not easily be accounted for without it, for they may well have belonged to similar compositions. . . . We find ourselves brought back to that idea of an escort which must have been associated with the supreme migration in the minds of the Cypriots, as well as in those of the Phœnicians and Etruscans. It is a survival from that primitive instinct which caused the dead to be buried with their favourite horses and even chariots." [1]

On the other hand most of the figures found in the salt-mines of Larnaca seem to have been votive in their intention.[2] In fact,



FIG. 120.—Terra cotta from Kition. Louvre. Height 9¼ inches. From Heuzey.

many of them hold things in their hands which can only have been offerings. "The series begins with figures of quite primitive execution. Nothing could be much more fantastic than the little rude sketch in clay, which represents a personage wearing a high conical cap (Fig. 120). When the legs are unbroken, as we find them in some other examples of the same type, they are combined into a slender stem of exaggerated length; they remind us of the oldest Phœnician (Fig. 1) and Sardinian bronzes, and of those idols in the Kircher Museum which are little more than metal rods." [3]

[1] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, pp. 143-144. [2] *Ibid.* p. 169. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 170-171.

The votive intention may be easily divined in a small well-executed group which shows three persons reclining at table (Fig. 121); two of the three are men, dressed in long robes and pointed coifs. The third is apparently a woman. Her head is covered with a *mitra*, or scarf, the ends being drawn over the cheeks and tied under the chin. The curious thing about this group is the introduction of two children, who sit upon the haunches of their elders. The sex of these little figures is uncertain; they are draped in long robes falling to their feet, but the better preserved of the two—its companion lacks a head—gives one the impression rather of a girl than a boy. It is likely that the scene here figured is religious in its intention; it is a banquet in honour either of the defunct or of his patron deity.



FIG. 121. Limestone group in the New York Museum.

In this group the table and couches hide all the lower parts of the figures; this is not the case, however, with the statuette reproduced in Fig. 122. The pose is the same, so are the tunic and bonnet; but the cushion on which the left elbow rests is more carefully shown, and the head, no doubt that of a young man, is without a beard. It is possible that this figure, although carried out separately, was intended to form part of a group, which could afterwards be properly arranged in the tomb or temple for which it was designed.[1]

[1] Several little terra-cotta groups of more or less summary execution have been found which deal with what we should call subjects of *genre*. The subject of one

We have other examples of figures modelled like this as parts of a group, but now deprived of their companions. In many cases they were only held in their proper positions by a dab of clay laid upon the plinth. This is notably the case with a group of which numerous versions have come down to us. The common theme is a religious dance round some sacred object, such as a cone or a nest of doves.[1] Sometimes a flute-player occupies the centre of a ring formed by three or more women dancing in a circle (Fig. 123). The attitude and costume of the dancers should be noticed. They hold each other by the hand, but at arm's length; they are draped

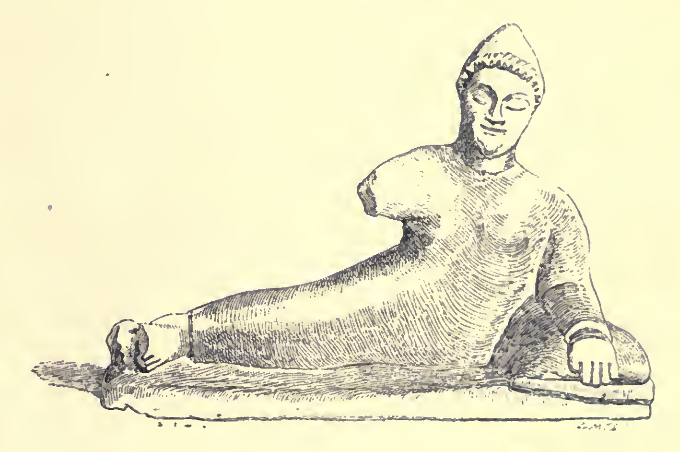


FIG. 122.—Limestone statuette. New York Museum.

in long robes falling over the feet and with pointed hoods, which make them look like nuns. In such a group the figures are, of

is the execution of a judicial sentence. Here there are six figures in all. Before the judge, who is enthroned and sceptred, a man applies the bastinado to the back of a culprit stretched prone on his face. In another group there are two nude figures, a man and a woman. The man is seated in a bath while the woman stands outside; her left arm rests on the man's shoulder, while, with her right, she holds a cup which appears to serve for throwing the water over the bather. There are also several obscene subjects. It is difficult to say with what object all these groups were made. They should be studied in the New York Museum, which is very rich in monuments of the kind.

[1] The most curious and the best preserved of all these groups is that belonging to M. de Clercq. It is of terra-cotta. In the middle rises a rough column or tree trunk, on the top of which is perched a nest with four doves in it. By the side of this column stands a large vase shaped like the crater from Amathus (Vol. I. Fig. 211). Round these symbols four persons are arranged; three of the four hold each other by the hand and move in measure, while the fourth stands outside the circle and strikes a tambourine. For information on the groups of this kind possessed by the Louvre, see HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 200.

necessity, few in number, but they serve at least to suggest familiar scenes. Where the artist has been forced to be content with three or four figures, perhaps there were in reality hundreds thus turning about the musician or the divine image, and filling the sacred woods and precincts with their excited cries.

The dance and its regulating music played a great part in the festivals of the Cypriot temples; of this the numerous clay or stone



FIG. 123.—Limestone group. Louvre. Height 6½ inches.

statuettes of players on the lute and lyre is sufficient proof. In some of these a Cypriot origin is clearly attested by the head-dress and costume as a whole (Figs. 124 and 125), while others have nothing local either in their dress or execution and may have been the work of foreign artists.[1]

[1] *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1871, pp. 67-76. See also a woman playing on the lyre, perhaps a muse, in CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 154.

The lyre must have been used chiefly to accompany hymns, prayers, and the chants of processions as they approached the altars of the goddess ; but the instrument which governed the feet of the dancers must have been the flute, whose clear and lively notes presided at all abandoned rites. M. Piot has a stone statuette, in excellent condition, which shows the form of the instrument and the way it was played (Fig. 125). It is what is called the *double flute*, although its principle and mode of use are quite distinct from those of a real flute. The two tubes are both of the same length, and apparently of the same calibre, which is curious, as they must have been used to give different notes, which implies that they were not similar. The flat mouthpieces and the leather bands, called φορβειὰ by the Greeks, may be easily distinguished. The latter were used to relieve the pressure upon the



FIG. 124.—Player on the Lyre. Limestone. Height 5 inches.

cheeks and to increase the force of the muscles. The person here figured was no doubt a professional musician ; he wears a skull-cup similar in general shape to that of the lyrist in Fig. 124.

This skull-cap seems to have been commonly worn by the ministers of the temple ; we find it again upon the head of a person in whom it is easy to recognize a sacrificing priest (Fig. 126). He is a young, beardless man, round and full in general form. He carries a ram on his shoulders, holding it by its paws.[1] The meaning of all these is clear enough, but in some of those figures with conical bases which belong to the very beginnings of plastic industry, nothing but the general intention can be grasped.

[1] In another example we find a goat so carried. DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, No. 99.

We may give as an example a bearded person who holds a bird between his hands; it seems to be an offering (Fig. 127).

We can divine the business of all the people figured in the statuettes just described from the attributes given to them by the



FIG. 125.—Player on the Flute. Limestone. Height 17 inches. Piot Collection.

sculptor. Such figures as these are always small; in no case do they reach the size of life.

In the case, however, of the great dignitaries who played the chief parts in the festivals of Idalion, Golgos and Paphos by right

of birth, sculptors went to more trouble and expense. Their figures were modelled in clay or chiselled in stone, on a scale which equalled or even surpassed that of life. Take for instance the statue called the *Priest with a dove* (Fig. 73). The high tiara and rich ample robe, the nobility of the attitude and the gesture of the hand with the gift, all combine to give probability to this hypothesis. The more careful and majestic statues found on this temple site at Athieno, are no doubt portraits of members of the



FIG. 126.—Sacrificing Priest. Limestone statuette. New York Museum.

old pontifical families of Cyprus.[1] And they are not restricted, perhaps, to the figures on which this lofty tiara appears. When a Greek approached the altar he bound a garland of leaves about his forehead, and as time passed on the same decoration may have

[1] M. FR. LENORMANT was so struck by the size and finished execution of this *Priest with a dove* as to suggest that it might be a statue of Cinyras himself, the legendary ancestor of the high priests of Astarte (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 199).

ousted the Asiatic tiara in Cyprus, at least when certain rites had to be accomplished. In that case those heads crowned with leaves from the olive, the oak, and the laurel, and sometimes with narcissus flowers, which are so numerous in the Louvre, may have once belonged to statues of priests. The influence of Greek art is more or less manifest throughout the series. In one or two fragments the true Cypriot origin is betrayed only by slight details which might easily escape a careless eye. Look at the head here figured, one of the most refined productions of Cypriot sculpture (Fig. 128). If we except the substance in which it is cut, there is nothing about it which might not be taken for Greek at first sight;

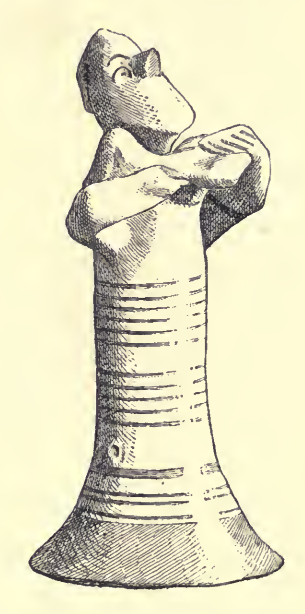


FIG. 127.—Clay figure with conical base. Height 7 inches. Louvre. From Heuzey.

the shapes of the nose and eyes, the smile which raises the corners of the mouth, the careful and elegant workmanship of the hair and beard, all remind us of the slightly mannered archaic school to which are ascribed such things as the bust called Jupiter Trophonius. But if we look a little more closely we shall find the true nationality of the work betraying itself in certain minor details, such as the close, plaited cap of hair, the absence of a moustache, and the beard completely disengaged from the throat. The artist may have learnt his trade in Greece, but he remained a Cypriot.

When we attempt to classify the statues which have migrated from the temples of Idalion and Golgos to fill the Metropolitan

Museum of New York, we find it difficult to distinguish between the images of priests and those of private worshippers, of kings, soldiers, or merchants. Such pedestals as were still standing were without inscriptions. The few dedicatory texts discovered there or elsewhere, in the island, were separated from the statues to which they referred. The point, however, is of slight importance. Both priests and laymen, as we should call them, were governed by the same ideas when they raised their statues in the sanctuary. And all these statues, when in good preservation, have one common characteristic; they all hold in their hands something in the nature of an offering, as a symbol of homage. The most frequently recurring attributes are the patera;[1] the pyx or incense box;[2] the alabastron, or perfume bottle;[3] fruits or flowers;[4] branches of foliage (Vol. I. Fig. 195),[5] the head of a bull,[6] and



FIG. 128.—Cypriot head. Height 12 inches. New York Museum. From Ceccaldi.

pigeons (Fig. 73).[7] In one instance we find a dove perched on a pyx.[8]

Almost all these statues are male or at least appear to be so. There are, however, a few figures of draped women holding a flower against their chests, sometimes with the right hand, sometimes with the left, while the disengaged arm hangs down at the side (Vol. I. Fig. 196, and Vol. II. Fig. 92). One of these wears her head covered with a scarf which hangs down at the back over the nape of the neck and even to the shoulders, while in the other the hair

[1] DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, No. 81.

[2] *Ibid.* Nos. 81, 82, 105, 123, 127.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 114.

[4] *Ibid.* Nos. 108, 109.

[5] *Ibid.* Nos. 81, 82, 83.

[6] *Ibid.* No. 124.

[7] *Ibid.* Nos. 80, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100.

[8] *Ibid.* No. 136.

is arranged very curiously under a kind of toque. In these figures some have been tempted to recognize images of the Cypriot goddess, but although we may hesitate before the terra-cotta statues of a seated female with a dove pressed to her breast (Vol. I. Figs. 20 and 142), it is more natural to see priestesses of Astarte in the stone figures we are now discussing. Whether they are found in Phœnicia itself, in Cyprus, or in Sardinia, the figures above alluded to always have the same pose, the same costume, and the same attributes ; such uniformity is well suited to idols in which a traditional type is indefinitely reproduced. These stone statues, on the other hand, correspond with the male votive figures in the matter of variety. Finally, although the dove is no more than an offering when introduced in many of the statues of men, there is nothing to prevent us from believing that it also served as an attribute and personal symbol of the deity on whose altars it was so constantly sacrificed ; but there is nothing to justify us in saying so much of a flower ; like fruit, or branches of myrtle and olive, flowers seem better suited to mortals, to hieroduli, to priestesses, or to those private worshippers who came to lay them at the feet of the goddess to whom their prayers were addressed.

Even in the absence of inscriptions Cypriot statues, whether male or female, generally offer peculiarities which enable us to divine their *raison d' être*. When the arms are broken off, or when they are present but without any offering in the hands, the attitude is often enough to betray the real character and significance of the figure (Fig. 74). The attitude is always grave and collected, and this allows us to class among votive monuments many objects which it would be hard to explain without these comparisons. Figures which when taken by themselves seem to have no obvious significance are easily explained when brought into a series with others of more unmistakeable destination. In those figures on which the uræus appears, either on the head or at the foot of the apron-like front of the *schenti*, we have been tempted to recognize princes whose fancy it was to wear the emblem known all over the East as the blazon of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Side by side with these feeble imitations of the Colossi of Thebes and Sais we found statuettes of people wearing a much more simple form of the Egyptian costume (Fig. 129). In this there is nothing to remind us of the Double Crown ; the head-dress bears some likeness to a *klaft*. The neck is bare ; the only ornament is a ring

on the arm. The loin-cloth is of the usual shape but without the regal emblems.



FIG. 129.—Limestone statuette. Height 12 inches. Louvre.

It was thus that people of good condition were figured at the time when the petty sovereigns of Kition and other districts of

Cyprus disguised themselves as Pharaohs. The figures of those who were not of royal blood were smaller and less magnificent in costume, but both prince and subject followed the same fashion, taking it altogether. On those two occasions when the Greeks of the Island attempted to throw off the yoke of the East and to unite themselves more closely to their brothers of Ionia and Greece proper, it is possible that an Onesilaus, an Evagoras, or some other phil-Hellenic prince, set up in the precincts of the Cypriot temples some statue of himself in which he was portrayed as a Greek soldier. But no such figure has come down to us; in none of those large Cypriot statues which may be ascribed to the date in question do we encounter either the military costume or the heroic nudity of Greece; it is always the civil or priestly dress, the long, fine tunic and mantle in which the figure is sometimes draped, like the Æschines and Aristides of our museums.

But in default of statues, Cyprus has yielded the statuette of a Greek hoplite, of one of those *men of bronze from the sea*, who appeared on all the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean in the seventh century (Fig. 130).[1] Its execution is heavy and halting, but the sculptor has imitated the metal armour he had before his eyes with great care. His work would be sufficient to restore the suit in its smallest details if the legs and arms had not been broken.

The helmet is a great advance upon the metal bonnet of Assyria. Besides the cap there are various pieces for the protection of the face and neck. Judging from the statuette, the cheek pieces, παραγναθίδες as the Greeks called them, were attached with hinges, which gave them some lateral play.[2] The helmet comes down over the nape of the neck, where it is even covered by the upper edge of the back piece. In front the cuirass does not reach so high. There are two large shoulder pieces held together on the chest by a crescent-shaped clasp. From the belt, which is a narrow band of metal, hang strips perhaps of leather covered with metal plates, and affording a good protection to the lower part of the body. The lower part of the figure is missing, so that we can only guess at the form of the leg armour.

Perhaps here was hardly the place to speak of this curious little

[1] Χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. HERODOTUS, II. 152.

[2] This figure was first published by M. HEUZEY in his *Mémoire sur un petit vase en forme de tête casquée portant une inscription hiéroglyphique* (*Gazette archéologique*, 1880).

figure, and to discuss what it teaches ; but although it is the faithful portrait of a Greek hoplite, both material and workmanship are Cypriot. On his way back from one of those campaigns which, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Psammeticus, carried Greek mercenaries as far east as the Euphrates valley and as far south as the second cataract on the Nile, some Greek soldier had visited the temples of Cyprus, had paid his devotions, and had left a record of his piety in the shape of this statuette. The



FIG. 130.—Statuette of a soldier, in terra-cotta. Actual size. Piot Collection.

archæologist meets with many surprises of the kind in Cyprus, which is owing to its situation and the part it played in antiquity. There Greece and the East came into contact at a very early hour ; they freely elbowed each other at those brilliant and sensuous festivities in which merchants and fighting-men of every race, the one sea-tossed and weary with travel, the other worn by long campaigns, came to pass a few days in which sensual pleasure and religious emotion were about equally combined.

§ 7.—*Animals.*

In Cyprus as in Phœnicia, in representing human figures as well as divine types, we have always encountered an art preoccupied rather with imitation than creation, an art inspired first by Egypt and Assyria, and afterwards by Greece. Wherever the sculptor shows no signs of having been personally touched by the beauty of man or woman, we may be fairly sure that no great originality is to be found in his method of rendering animal forms.

And this is the case with Cyprus. Many lions carved in the stone of the country have been found there as well as in Phœnicia,[1] but they are never anything more than either ornamental motives (Vol. I. Fig. 54), or religious emblems (Fig. 94). Their makers had never seen the king of beasts in life, still less in freedom ; they copied his figure with a kind of lifeless indifference from types furnished by the sculpture of people who had studied the majestic brute from nature. The form they gave him was, therefore, quite conventional. To be convinced of this we have only to cast our eyes upon the fragments just referred to, and upon another which must belong to the crowning ornament of some funerary stele (Fig. 131). The execution of this last named figure is curiously heavy and awkward, but not more so than in the great majority of similar monuments.[2] A few are treated with more care and skill ; of these the most remarkable, perhaps, is the head of a lioness here reproduced (Fig. 132). It betrays,

[1] The work now in course of publication, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Antiquities*, should contain a plate which eight heads and bodies of lions carved in stone are brought together (part i. pl. lxxxiv.). We have borrowed two of our illustrations from it.

[2] The animals in a kind of pediment, on which two women are carved in relief between two lions, are no better; this pediment was found at Athieno. The women have their bosoms bare, and carry their hands to their hair, which falls down upon their shoulders. Their attitude is that in which the Venus Anadyomene is often shown. At each angle of the pediment there is a much smaller figure, also semi-nude, but of such a character that neither the sex nor the original attitude can be determined with any certainty. As for the lions, their bodies are seen in profile, but their exaggerated faces and pendant tongues are turned to the spectator (see the plate accompanying an article by DR. BIRCH in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pp. 20-24). We believe no explanation of this curious monument has ever yet been offered. Judging by its workmanship it is not very ancient.

however, the imitation of an Egyptian model, such as one of those studio patterns with which the ruins of Tanis have enriched the Boulak Museum.[1]



FIG. 131.—Lion. Limestone. New York Museum.

There were no lions in the mountains of Cyprus, but it was not only for want of familiarity with their appearance that the Cypriot sculptor rendered them so inadequately. He failed just as completely with the domestic animals among which he lived. He



FIG. 132.—Head of a lioness. New York Museum.

never seems to have looked at them with any real curiosity. Perhaps his best works in the *genre* are the cattle in the relief of Hercules and the herds of Geryon (Fig. 111); there the

[1] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Figs. 261 and 262.

contours are firm, the movements true and well understood. In the terra-cotta horses and donkeys yielded by the tombs, the profiles as a whole are fairly well grasped, but the modelling is very rude and elementary. In no instance does the artist appear to have taken an interest in the animal for its own sake, for the beauty of its form and movements ; he has been content to make him recognizable ; he has used him only as a necessary adjunct to the scenes he had to figure. A dog found in a tomb at Athieno records perhaps the love of hunting shown during life by the inhabitant of the grave.[1] Cows suckling their calves afford an emblem of that nursing goddess in whose temples such groups were dedicated.[2] A dolphin and a serpent chiselled in high relief would perhaps be explicable in similar fashion if we could only contrive to read the damaged inscription borne by the same slab.[3] A ram carried on a man's shoulders proclaimed him a sacrificing



Fig. 133.—Group of doves. Limestone. New York Museum.

priest (Fig. 126). The countless stone doves were offerings to Aphrodite ; they are figured sometimes singly, sometimes in pairs, face to face (Fig. 133). All these images are equally mediocre and wanting in life and expression.

But if animal shapes were to the Cypriot sculptor no more than heraldic images and the words of a conventional language, we can readily understand how he found pleasure in the employment of those composite forms which allow more complex ideas to be suggested. Fanciful beings are, in fact, very common in his work. Some of the best known seem to have been invented by him, such as the Chimæra, whose birthplace, according to the Greek poets, was in Asia Minor (Vol. I. Fig. 215). Other forms were imported from the East, by way of Phœnicia. Of such, for example, is the winged sphinx of which Cypriot decorators made such frequent use (Vol. I. Figs. 151, 152). It was from Egypt, where it served to represent the soul of the dead, that the type of a bird with a

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 113-114. [2] *Ibid.* p. 158. [3] *Ibid.* p. 144.

human head was borrowed.[1] We have already found it repeated three times in a small terra-cotta pavilion (Vol. I. Fig. 208).[2]

Among the Dali terra-cottas in the Louvre there is a woman-headed bird holding a child or a small human figure in its arms.[3] In after years this type was seized upon by the Greeks for their harpies and sirens, but Cypriot sculpture shows a curious variant on the motive which is quite enough to prove its Egyptian origin. "In Egypt this symbolic bird has hands which, as a rule, it holds up to its lips, as if to drink the celestial water poured out by Hathor. Its sex is that of the defunct, its chin being often provided with a pointed beard."[4] Now, in a Cypriot monument we find this same human-headed bird with arms and a square beard (Fig. 134); the hands are raised to the mouth, not, however, to



FIG. 134.—Human-headed bird. Limestone. Greatest length 6¾ inches. Louvre.

direct the life-giving stream into it, but to support the instrument known as the *Pan-pipes*. With the Greeks the characteristic of a siren is her song; here, then, the sculptor has wished to figure a siren, but a male one. In his time the sex of the strange being in which a human head is joined to the wings and voice of a bird had

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 38.

[2] To be quite accurate, only one of these three figures, the one at the door, is so modelled that we can recognize the body and wings of a bird (HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 155); but although the potter has been less careful to indicate the form in those cases where the heads alone could be seen by the spectator, it by no means follows that he did not have the same notion in his mind.

[3] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 155.

[4] HEUZEY, *Sur les origines de l'industrie des terres cuites* (paper read at the public session of the Académie des Inscriptions, 17 November, 1882).

not yet been determined. As for the arms, although they were suppressed by Greek taste as not going well with the body of a bird, we shall find them reappear on monuments by no means ancient. Some sirens have a lyre in their hands.[1]

Another factitious type to be found in Cyprus is that of the centaur, which occurs even among the rough statuettes, daubed over with red and black, from the Alambra graveyard.[2] The example here given was found there (Fig. 135.) This personage wears a cap of cloth or felt. His right hand is broken off, so that we cannot say what it may have held; the left arm bears a slightly concave disk which can hardly be anything but a shield. The hind-legs are formless, but in the other pair, clumsy as they are, we can divine the sculptor's wish to reproduce human limbs; the



FIG. 135.—Centaur. Terra-cotta. Height $4\frac{1}{5}$ inches. New York Museum.

rudiments of a foot and knee can be readily distinguished. This centaur, therefore, is composed of the whole body of a man with the middle-piece and quarters of a horse added to it.

There were no inscriptions on the tombs from which these monuments were taken, and history tells us nothing about the people by whom the cemetery was made; so that we have no means of guessing the age of such terra-cottas but their treatment. This is very primitive. Phœnician influence is to be divined in it, but not that of Greece. So far as such a test allows of a definite

[1] DECHARME, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, p. 318.

[2] HEUZEY, *Catalogue*, p. 155. LUDLOW, *Note on a terra-cotta figurine from Cyprus* (*Bulletin of the Archæological Institute of America*, pp. 35-40).

opinion we may say, then, that these figures of centaurs must be anterior to the oldest found in Greece.

And yet it has been affirmed that the centaur type is a creation of Greek genius.[1] It has even been contended that the horse is, in a sense, an Aryan invention, and that they were the first to conceive the notion of those hybrid animals into whose composition his body entered. An explanation for such an idea has been sought in the Vedas.[2] It cannot be denied that Greece gave to the horse a far more important and conspicuous *rôle* in its figured mythology than it had enjoyed in the East; but this fact is to be explained very simply, and without having recourse to that argument from race which has, in our days, supplied a pretext for so many gratuitous conjectures. The horse was not domesticated until long after the ox. Neither Egypt, Chaldæa, nor Assyria began to drive the latter, still less to mount him, until long after the forms in which they expressed their religious ideas and their series of ornamental types were fixed. Once adopted by tradition these things hardly changed; even their enrichment and improvement went on very slowly. On the other hand, when Greek art began to provide its demons and gods with bodies, the horse had long been the servant and companion of man. Our readers will remember the speaking horses in the *Iliad*, and the heroes who wept for their deaths as for those of human friends. A century or two later, when vases with black figures appear, we find horsemen armed with lances careering round the swelling sides of crater and amphora.

There is nothing to astonish us, then, in the fact that, in its ideal world of art and mythology, the Greek imagination gave to the horse a place which corresponded to the one he occupied in the real life of the nation; but we should be mistaken if we supposed that the horse was unknown to what we may call the ornamental and mythological fauna of the East. Certainly he

[1] This is the opinion of CURTIUS. In his paper entitled *Das archaische Bronzerelief aus Olympia* (in the proceedings of the Berlin Academy for 1879, p. 26) he says: "Das Wild (der Kentaur) das hier verfalgt wird, ist eine Mischgestalt griechischen Erfindung." In his interesting paper upon the *Representations of Centaurs in the paintings upon Greek vases* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. pp. 107-167), Mr. Sydney Colvin expresses the same opinion: "The notion of the centaur is of Greek and not of Asiatic origin" (p. 128).

[2] See M. ADRIEN WAGNON'S work entitled *Egypte et Grèce, ou comparison des œuvres de sculpture chez les Grecs et chez les Egyptiens* (8vo, Geneva, 1884).

is not to be met with in that of Egypt; the plastic symbolism of that country was fixed before he was acclimatized in the Nile valley, and the Egyptians were too conservative to admit him either into the lists of their scribes or pattern books of their decorative artists.[1] It was not so, however, with the Chaldæans and Assyrians. The beginnings of their art were also remote, but far less remote than those of Egypt, while in later years they were more tolerant of change, innovation, and the admission of new elements. We do not know when the horse made his first appearance in Mesopotamia, but it is certain that he was there employed in the creation of those fantastic animals which were first used to embody religious conceptions and afterwards sunk to the condition of ornamental motives.

The passage has often been quoted where Berosus describes the hybrid forms in which life commenced upon the earth, according to the tradition of his people.[2] In his list of monsters figure "men with horse's feet, and others with the hind-quarters of a horse, while in front they were entirely human, giving them the appearance of hippo-centaurs." Farther on he speaks of "dog-headed horses," and of "beasts with horses' heads and fishes' tails." This latter type is the hippo-campus of the Greeks. And the historian tells us that he saw all these strange beasts figured in the temple of Bel at Babylon;[3] he did not invent them or take them from the descriptions of previous writers.

Several of the types mentioned by Berosus are no longer to be encountered on the Chaldæo-Assyrian monuments, but from what has already been found we may fairly hope in time to discover

[1] See M. E. LEFÉBURE, *Sur l'ancienneté du cheval en Égypte* (*Annuaire de la faculté des lettres de Lyon*, 2nd year; *Histoire et Geographie*, part i. p. 1). He admits that there is absolutely nothing to suggest the presence of the horse in Egypt at the time of the ancient empire, while he thinks he can prove that it was already known and acclimatized under the Theban Pharaohs of the middle empire; he admits, however, that it was not used in war until the new empire, towards the time of the eighteenth dynasty. Even if we accept his conclusions, our assertion will remain good that the repertory to which the sacred and secular artists of Egypt turned for their motives and types was closed long before the horse became common in the Nile valley. The researches of M. Maspero all tend to show that in the Egypt of Thothmes and Rameses there was nothing of which the framework had not been set up in the days of the ancient empire.

[2] C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum* (Didot's edition, vol. ii. fragment 1).

[3] Ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βήλου ναῷ ἀνακεῖσθαι.

specimens of them all. We pointed out a winged horse in a bas-relief of Assurnazirpal's palace, that is to say in a sculpture dating from the first years of the ninth century;[1] but the sculptors of Calah were not the first to whom such an idea occurred. Our readers will remember what strange animals were figured on those egg-shaped landmarks by which the fields were placed under the protection of gods and demons.[2] Now, on one of these stones which comes from Chaldæa and is thought to belong to the twelfth century, we find a very interesting figure.[3] This is that of a monster built up of very diverse elements. Head and bust are those of a warrior, an archer, with conical helmet, long hair and beard, a quiver upon his shoulders, and an arrow upon the string of his stretched bow; the human torso blends insensibly into that of a winged horse.

At first sight the being thus composed seems to present no features but those proper either to a man or a horse, but when we come to look a little closer we see that the artist, fearful, perhaps, that his monster as first conceived was hardly terrific enough, has added certain things for the purpose of making him seem more formidable. At the back of the human head he has placed a second, apparently that of a kind of griffin-unicorn, while he has supplemented the horse's tail with that of a scorpion. The complete scorpion which appears here under the body of the horse is scarcely ever absent from these steles.

Leaving these added parts out of the question, what remains is a true centaur, a centaur which differs from that of classic sculpture only by the addition of wings. It should be noticed, too, that this is no awkward combination of a man's figure with the rear of a horse, as we see it in the Cypriot figurines and in the earliest Greek centaurs. Even in the metopes of the Parthenon the junction of the two forms is hardly better managed than it is here; the boldly advanced fore-legs give a movement which recalls that of many centaurs at Athens, and on the Phigalian frieze. Of course we do not pretend that the Athenian sculptors of the fifth century

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Fig. 89.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. I. Fig. 10; Vol. II. Figs. 43, 111, 112.

[3] MR. PINCHES is our authority for this date. The name of King Meli-Sihu is to be read on the stone, and, according to Mr. Pinches, he reigned about 1107 (see his list of the Chaldæan princes, so far as we know them, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for 1884). The stone was found at Babylon by Mr. Rassam and sent to the British Museum in 1882.

copied Asiatic models; in dwelling upon this hitherto unnoticed monument from Chaldæa, we have merely wished to show that the first idea of the centaur—like that of pegasus, the griffin, and the sphinx—may have been suggested to Greek artists by things of eastern origin. We have yet, however, to find the form of centaur preferred by archaic Greek art on some monuments from Phœnicia or Mesopotamia.

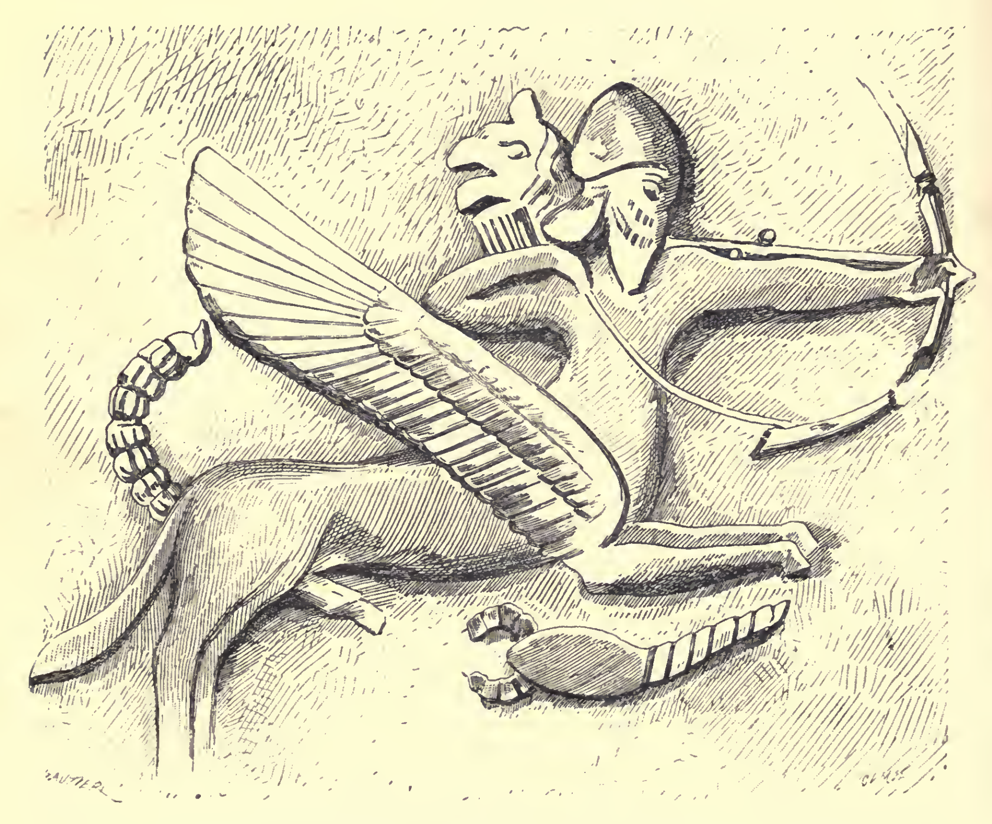


FIG. 136.—Chaldæan centaur. Relief in grey limestone. Length from the point of the arrow to the tip of the tail 8½ inches. British Museum.

The models for another class of figures, those with human bodies joined to animals' heads, must have come from Egypt alone. In fact the Egyptian costume may be at once recognized in one of the strangest of such figures, a statuette robed like those in which we have recognized Cypriot royalty (Fig. 137). This personage wears a tunic and *schenti;* his apron is ornamented with two uræi, and his head is covered with a *klaft*, but that head is the head of a frog.

In another example it is a bull's head (Fig. 138), but here the figure is covered with a long and wide mantle which leaves nothing visible but the hands. A variant on this type shows the same individual raising his hands to his muzzle, in the gesture of one about to lift off a mask or sham head. Here perhaps we may see the true explanation of what is otherwise difficult to understand. There is nothing to suggest that animal-headed gods were ever



FIG. 137.—Man with head of a frog. Limestone statuette. New York Museum.

worshipped in Cyprus, but it is possible that these figures are sculptured jokes; what we should call caricatures. Cypriot art never showed the skill or power of invention which would justify us in supposing that it attempted to provoke a laugh by exaggerating human features till they approached those of certain beasts. On the whole the most likely hypothesis appears to be this: It is probable enough that in some of the great functions carried out in

the temple precincts the masks of animals were worn, and that some of the worshippers, anxious to record the parts they took in the ceremony, caused themselves to be represented "in character," as we should phrase it. If we only look at the intention of the

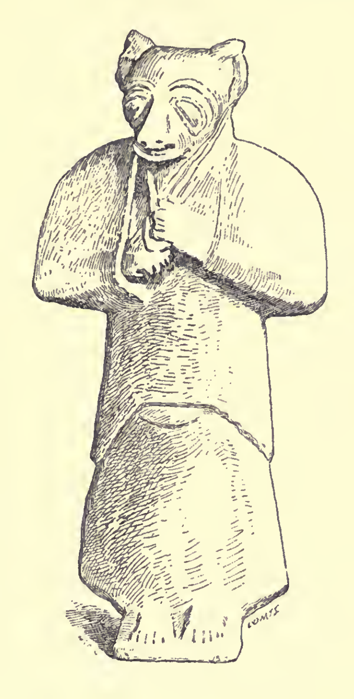


FIG. 138.—Man with head of a bull. Limestone statuette. New York Museum.

donor, these statuettes should then be ranged with the votive figures already described; they would naturally take their place among those statues whose object is revealed by the doves or other votive offerings they carry in their hands.

§ 8.—*Reliefs on Sarcophagi.*

No decorative bas-reliefs of any importance have been found in Cyprus. It would seem that such work was not used to ornament temples and palaces, as in Egypt and Assyria. The palaces and other civil buildings have disappeared altogether, while if a few fragmentary reliefs have been found among the temple ruins, they have always been isolated figures, carved on the faces of small objects, such as footstools, stone seats (Vol. I. Fig. 215), altars,

basins for ablution (*ib.* Figs. 211 and 212).[1] Nothing like the friezes and metropes of Greek temples have been found; the scene sculptured on the pedestal of a colossal Hercules, remains so far an unique exception (Fig. 111). There are of course not a few votive steles;[2] but in spite of their Cypriot inscriptions they seem to belong to a debased epoch. The influence of Hellenic art is to be traced even in their careless execution.

We may say the same of such funerary steles as the excavations have brought to light.[3] Some of these may even date from the Roman Conquest. The only things to which we can point as proving the existence of sculpture in relief, if not before the Cypriot artist had received lessons from those of Greece, at least before they were obliged to abandon the originality of their own school and the Oriental types to which it clung so long, are the few sarcophagi which have been found in the graveyards of Golgos and Amathus.

Although broken into many pieces, two of these sarcophagi have been successfully put together; they demand our close attention both by their subjects and treatment. The older of the two, or at least that which differs most sensibly from the style of classic Greece, is the one from Amathus (Figs. 139—142).[4]

All four faces of this sarcophagus are enframed in a complex ornament in which elements borrowed from Greek architecture are combined with others already encountered in Egypt and Assyria. Thus, in the cornice, and just above a row of oves and another of beads, we find the knop-and-flower ornament of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Above this, again, comes a large torus, like that which occurs at the cornice on nearly every building in the Nile valley. On the two long sides the main relief is bounded at each end by a vertical band of ornament in the shape of a pilaster; this ornament consists of those palmettes which the Phœnician decorator borrowed from Assyria, and used so frequently (see Vol. I. Figs. 73, 76, 81). On the short sides, which are not the least like each other, there was no room for palmettes and their

[1] Many fragments of this kind are brought together in plate xi. of DOELL *Die Sammlung Cesnola* (figs. 7, 8, and 9).

[2] *Ibid.* plate xi. figs. 1-5.

[3] *Ibid.* plate xii. figs. 1-9.

[4] Hardly any of the Amathus sarcophagi had figures upon them. Cesnola points out one, however, also in marble, on which a colossal female head was sculptured. The style was that of archaic Greek sculpture.

place was taken by a simple arabesque. With this difference the ornamental frame runs round all the reliefs. Its details, taken

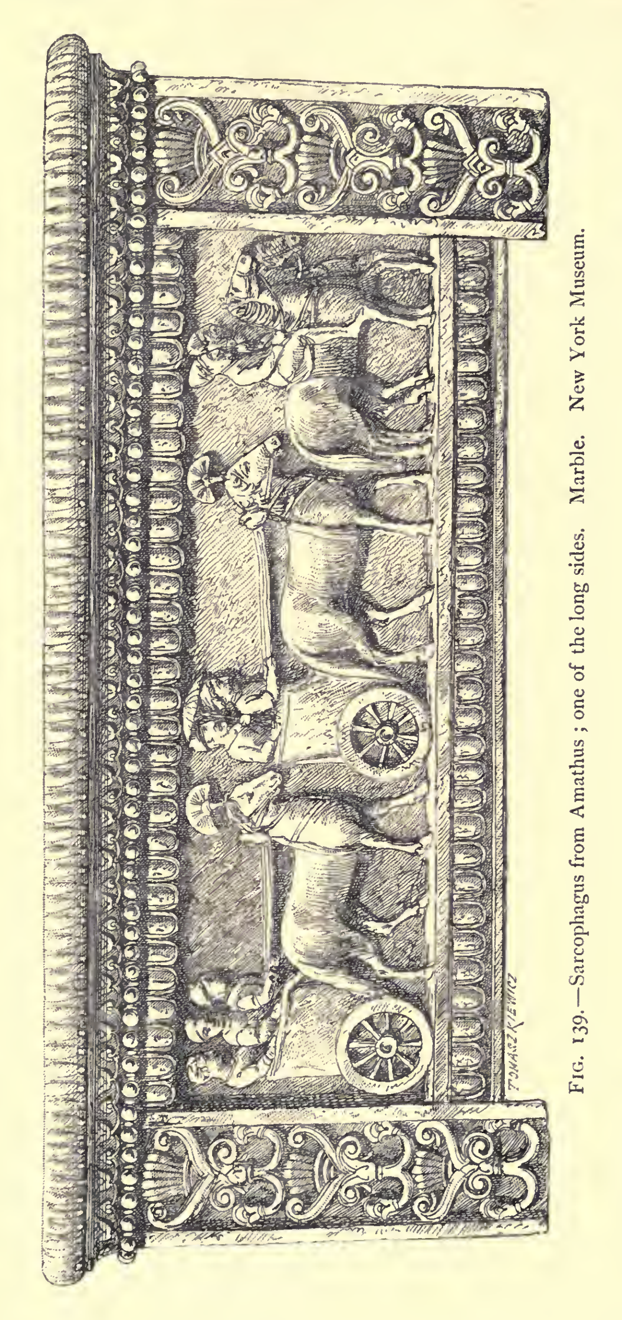


FIG. 139.—Sarcophagus from Amathus ; one of the long sides. Marble. New York Museum.

separately, are in sufficiently good taste, but as a whole it is excessive and overcharged. The whole thing is a little *barbaric*, in the sense attached to that term by the Greeks.

We find the same mixture of two different inspirations and sets of traditions in the sculpture properly speaking. Those by whom

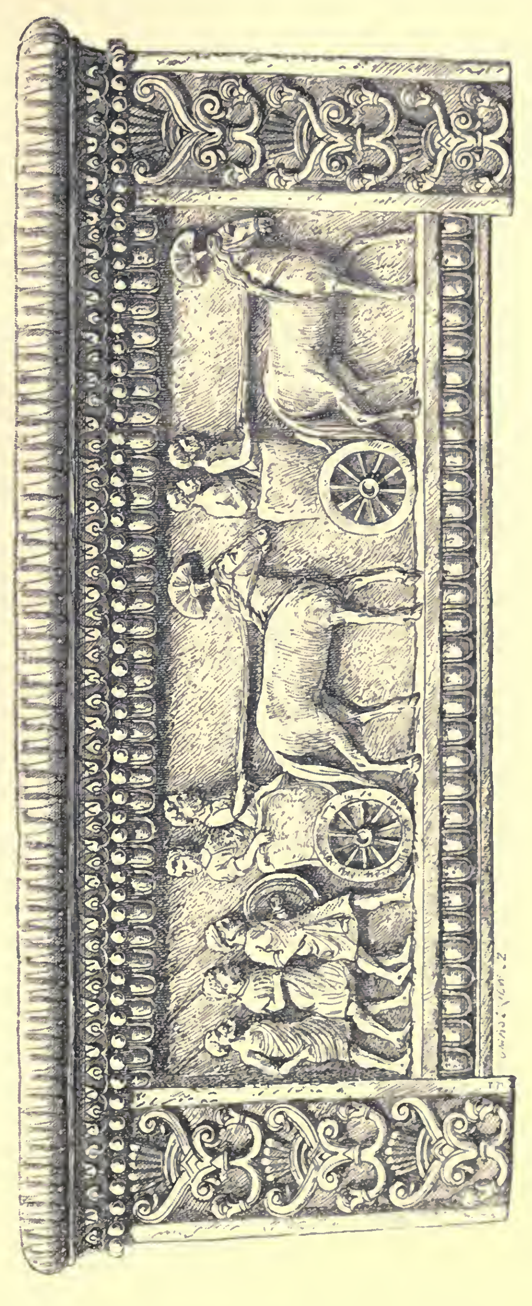


FIG. 140.—Sarcophagus from Amathus. Second long side.

the processions on the long sides of the chest were designed and carved, were pupils of Greece; they understood how to give variety to the attitudes of their human figures, and even to the

movements of their horses ; look for instance at the heads of the two ridden chargers in Fig. 139 ; one is carried high, while the other droops towards the ground ; draperies, especially the Greek-looking costumes of the foot-soldiers who bring up the rear in Fig. 140, are skilfully cast. On the other hand the divine types, which are repeated four times on each of the smaller faces, have nothing Hellenic about them ; they are transferred bodily from the Phœnician pantheon. In one panel we find the Eastern Aphrodite ; a naked goddess wearing several rich necklaces, and supporting her breasts with her hands (Fig. 141), exactly like those we have

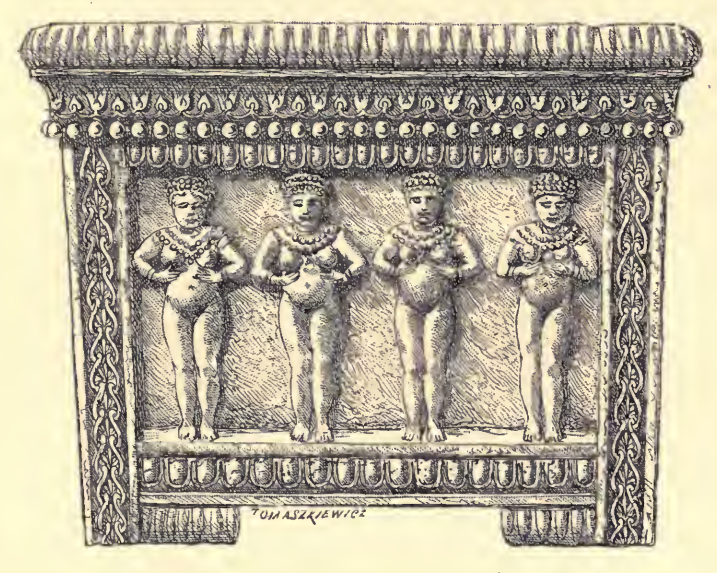


FIG. 141.—Sarcophagus from Amathus. First short side.

already so often encountered both in the Phœnician colonies (Fig. 15), and in Cyprus (Figs. 45, 103, 104). At the other end we find another familiar deity (Vol. I. Figs. 21, 22, 41 ; and above, Figs. 3, 11, 18, 19, 20), the pygmy god, or Bes, with his wide grimacing face, his feather crown, his large beard, his short petticoat and thickset limbs (Fig. 142), a type which may have lent some of its features to the compilation of the Greek Hercules. Even in the processions on the long sides, there are details to remind us of the local habits and fashions of the East. The conical caps of the two horsemen remind us of those worn by many Cypriot statues, while the parasol which casts its shadow over the occupant of the first chariot is a symbol of Asiatic royalty ; finally, the chariot

horses wear the fan-shaped plumes which we meet with in Assyria and Lycia.[1]

The lid was shaped like a hipped roof; it was broken into many pieces, and, as some of those escaped all search, it cannot be entirely restored.[2] There is enough to show, however, that the palmettes of the side ornament reappeared on the lid; there are, too, the remains of several sphinxes, which seem to have been set up in pairs, facing each other at each end of the sarcophagus. In this, again, we find Asiatic influence. The Assyrian ornamentists loved, as we have seen, to set animals face to face.

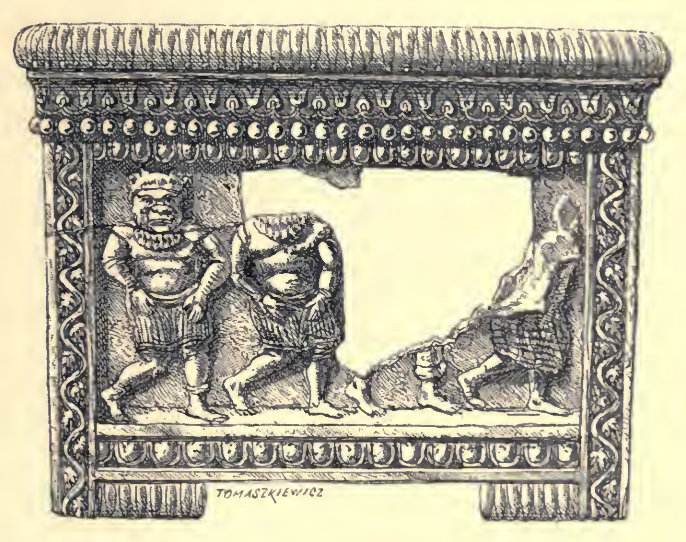


FIG. 142.—Sarcophagus from Amathus. Second short side.

The date of this sarcophagus cannot, however, be a very remote one, because its material is marble, proving that it was made after intimate relations had been established between Cyprus and the Grecian islands.[3] Even the use of war-chariots does not point to any great antiquity; they were not abandoned by the Cypriots

[1] See RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 407 and 414; and CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plate xvi. (reproduction of a bas-relief from Xanthus).

[2] A restoration in perspective of this lid may be seen at p. 267 of Cesnola's work. It was our intention to give it here, but the frank statement of its author that it was too hasty and too full of conjecture to deserve reproduction caused us to change our minds.

[3] In the Amathus graveyard sarcophagi of plain white marble were found (CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 269).

nearly so soon as by other people of Greek race. They were employed in the great battle fought before Salamis towards the beginning of the fifth century, at the time of the revolt of Ionia.[1]

The meaning of the reliefs on the sides of the sarcophagus must also be sought in the funerary symbolism of Phœnicia. At first sight it might seem that the procession on the two long panels figured some historical event, the setting out or the triumphal return of the warrior over whose head the parasol is being held up in the first chariot. This explanation is the first to suggest itself, but there are good reasons why we should go a little farther. If the sculptor had meant to represent a real occurrence, would he have broken up his procession by figures whose meaning is certainly mystical and religious? And do we not find these same foot and horse soldiers, these war and pleasure chariots, in hundreds of tombs, both in Cyprus and Phœnicia, where there is nothing to hint that they were placed as souvenirs of any conquest or military adventure? The sculptor of this sarcophagus must, in fact, have been the servant of the same idea as that which caused tombs to be filled with the little groups and figures, in stone and terra-cotta, to which we have just alluded; the idea, namely, of the great journey, the journey from which there was no return, which was to be accomplished by the dead among similar attendants and with the same pomp as his journeys upon earth. In that case nothing could be more natural than the intervention of those gods who seem to be there on purpose to guide the dead man in his supreme migration, and to protect him against the unknown dangers of the voyage. On one side we find the mother goddess, whose teeming breasts hold out a promise of life and resurrection; on the other, a god who was, in Egypt at least, a symbol of joy and laughter. For that reason he was associated in tombs, pictures, and especially upon the pillows placed with the dead, with the idea of a resurrection; the same notion caused him to be represented as the guardian of one of the gates of the infernal region.[2] A small object in glazed earthenware found, no doubt, in some tomb, has already shown us Bes in very intimate relations with the same goddess; it has been guessed with some probability that they are here (Fig. 3) figured as mother

[1] HERODOTUS, V. 113.

[2] MARIETTE-BEY, *La Galerie de l'Egypte Ancienne au Trocadéro*, 1878, p. 116.

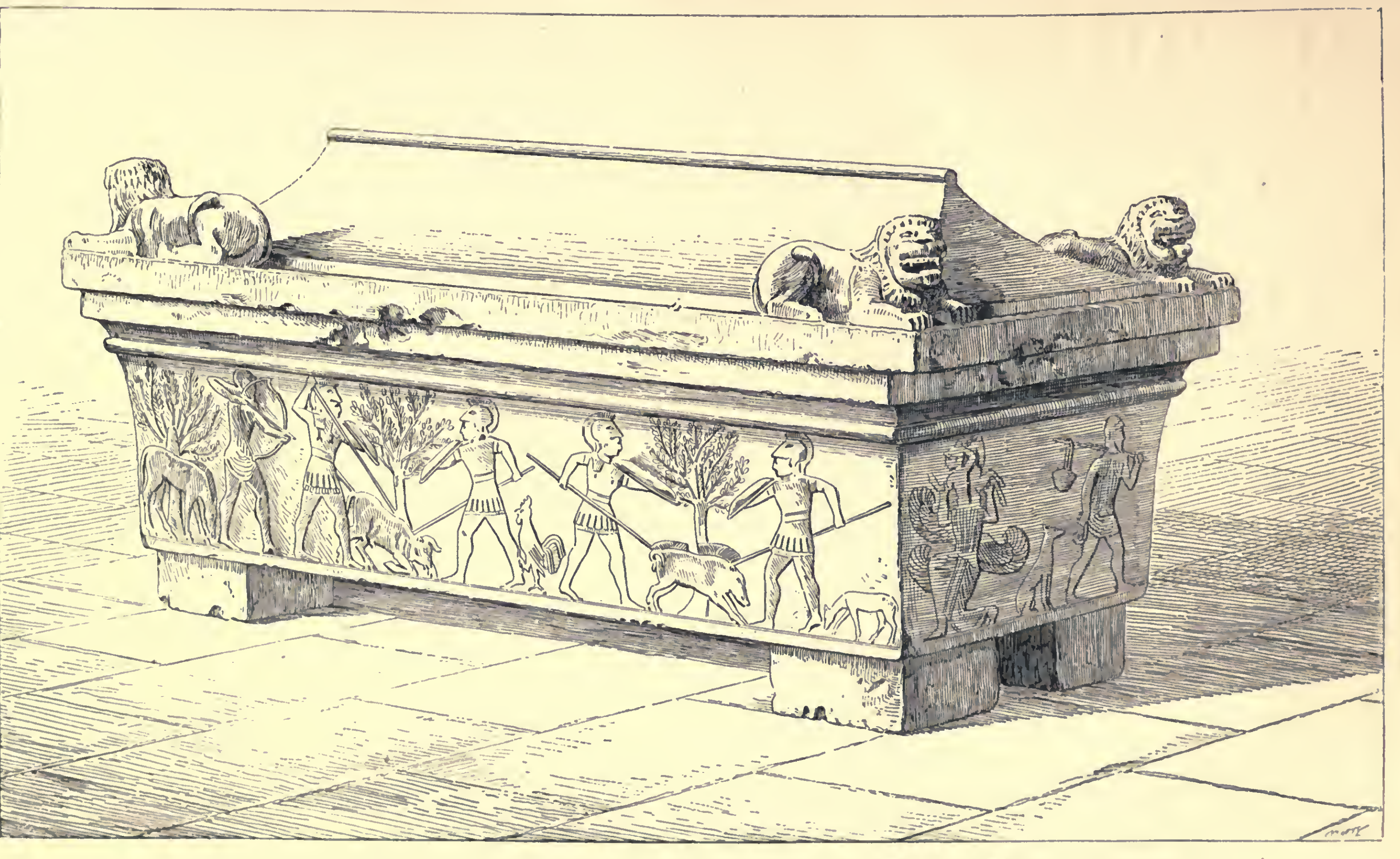


FIG. 143.—Sarcophagus from Athieno. Limestone. Length 7 feet 10½ inches. Metropolitan Museum of New York.



and son.[1] In some Assyrian reliefs mothers are shown thus bearing their children astride upon their shoulders.[2]

Whatever the connection may have been between Bes and this sepulchral Astarte it is certain that they are combined both in the earthenware group and on this elaborate sarcophagus, whence we may infer that both were placed in the first line of tomb-deities by the Phœnicians. And all this adds greatly to the interest and importance of the object we are now discussing. In it we see a work carried out under the impulse of Phœnician ideas and traditions by an artist educated in the school of Greece. With the exception of Citium, Amathus retained its western character later and more strongly than any other town in Cyprus, but even there the influence of an art whose supremacy began to be felt as early as the end of the sixth century by every people that came into contact with its fine style and free, frank originality, could not be long withstood.

The influence of Greek archaism is still more sensible in the *sarcophagus of Athieno* (Figs. 143-145); and yet it is not of marble, but of the local limestone, while the lions at its four angles are quite in harmony with the Cypriot tradition; we have already seen them used as a finial to many steles found in the island (Vol. I. Fig. 54, and above, Fig. 131). This motive and the material in which the whole work is carried out are enough to prove its origin.

With these exceptions, there is apparently nothing here either Oriental or even purely Cypriot in character. Of the four themes, or pictures, between which the sides of the sarcophagus are divided, there is only one in which an unreal being is introduced, and there we see at a glance that the subject is that murder of Medusa by Perseus, which was sung by the poets and figured by the artists of Greece. The murder is over, and from the Gorgon's bleeding trunk spring Pegasus and Chrysaos; the victor makes off on the right, the head of his victim slung on a stick. Between Medusa and Perseus there is a dog, who may have occurred in some variant of the legend which has not come down to our times (Fig. 143).[3]

[1] HEUZEY, *Sur quelques Représentations du dieu grotesque appelé Bes par les Egyptiens* (in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1879, pp. 140-149).

[2] See especially a slab exhibited in the vestibule to the Assyrian Museum at the Louvre.

[3] In his rather too subtle and ingenious explanation of the reliefs on this sarcophagus, CECCALDI will have it that this dog is identical with the Egyptian Anubis

One of the long faces is occupied by a hunting scene (Fig. 143). The hunt takes place in a wood, as we may guess from the three trees which fill up the voids in the composition. The hunting party consists of five people, four of whom wear the full costume of a Greek hoplite. The fifth, an archer, is more lightly dressed; he wears a conical cap on his head. Two of the hoplites attack a wild boar; the other pair transfix a bull with their lances. On the right a horse is feeding; on the left a dog seems to be following a scent. A curious detail occurs in the middle of the relief; a cock strikes the legs of one of the hoplites with his spur. He may have been introduced as a symbol of the virtues necessary to the soldier; we find him sometimes on painted vases, on the shields of warriors.[1]

The other long side is filled with a scene of *genre*, a feast (Fig. 144). On the left a bearded personage lies extended on a couch and holds out a two-handled cup to a naked attendant to be filled; the latter carries an œnochoë in one hand and a large spoon in the other. This latter utensil was used to lift things from the huge bowl or crater which stands at the opposite end of the picture. The centre is occupied by three couples, each consisting of a man and woman, the man stretched upon a couch, the woman seated on its edge with her feet upon a stool. Two of these women caress their companions, the third strikes a lyre, while a second musician stands in the middle of the room and plays the double flute. In front of each couch there is a low table with dishes upon it. A tree introduced on the extreme right tells us that the feast takes place in a garden.[2]

(*Monuments antiques de Cypre*, p. 71); but we are here in full Greek mythology, and it is difficult to admit that an Egyptian symbol can have thus, as it were, clandestinely slunk in among personages of a totally different origin at the bidding of an artist in whose work we cannot find evidence of the slightest preoccupation of the kind.

[1] GERHARD, *Auserlesene Vase*, plates 84-85.

[2] CECCALDI tries to convince us that this scene represents the four ages of man. Here again we fear he has allowed his desire to find a meaning for the smallest detail to run away with him. In an excellent photograph, for which we have to thank General di Cesnola, we can find no appreciable difference in age between the three younger men; in the bearded person on the left alone is there any sign of more advanced years. It seems, therefore, more simple to regard this relief as an ordinary conventional picture of life as a festive scene, like those found on not a few Etruscan sarcophagi, notably on the splendid specimen from Cervetri in the British Museum.

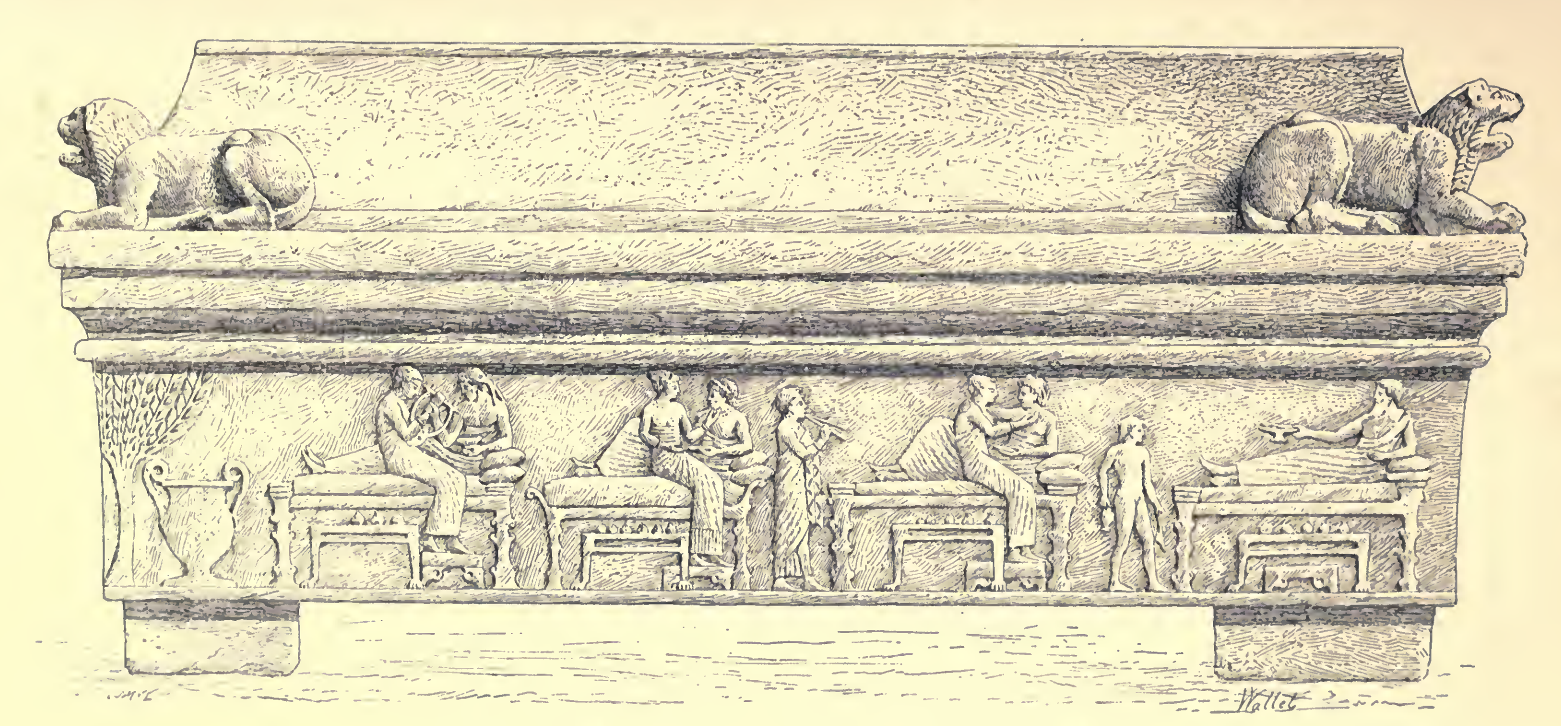
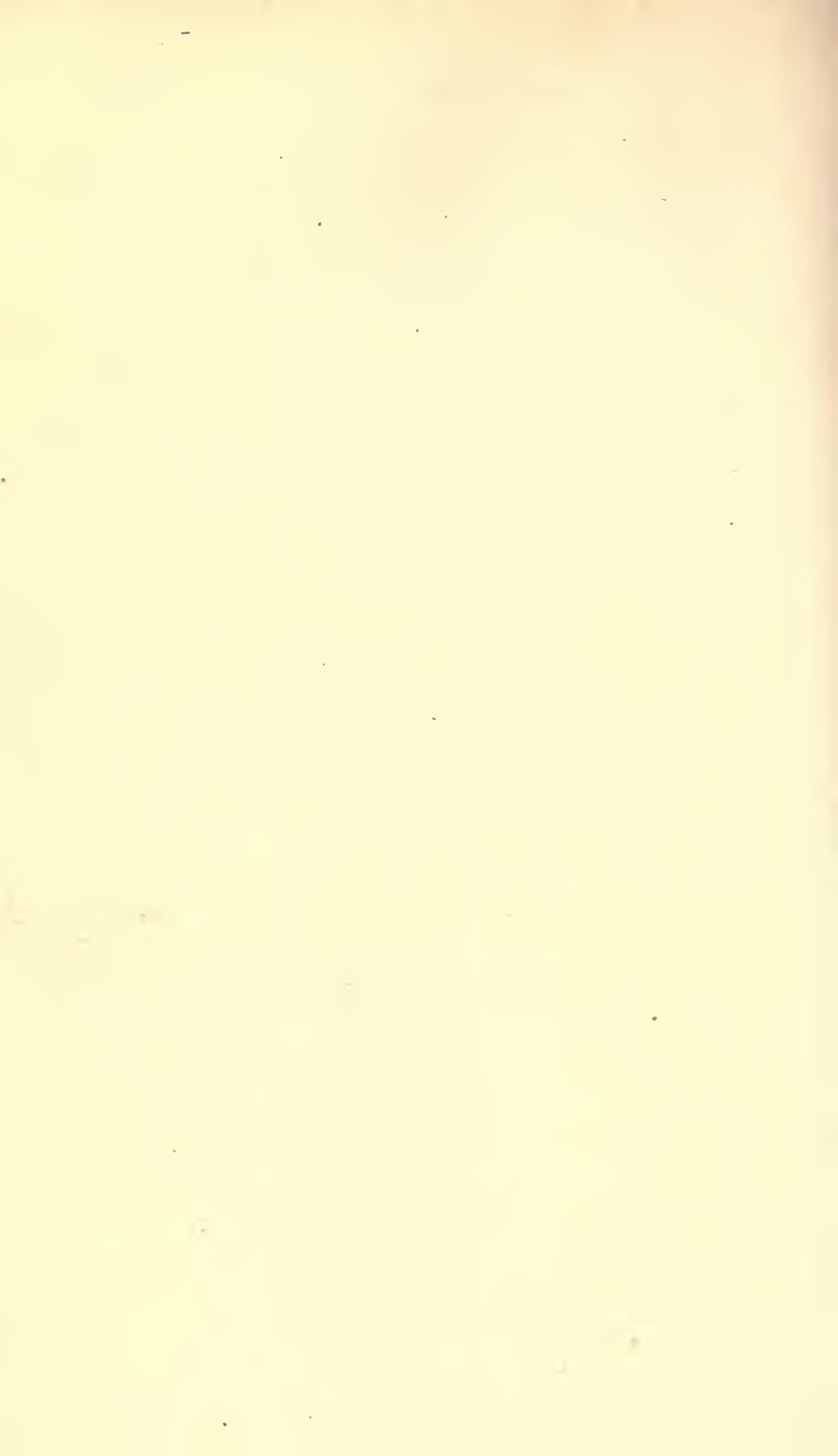


FIG. 144.—Sarcophagus from Athieno. Second long side. New York Museum.



On the second short side we find a chariot with two horses, in which the bearded individual of the feast is driven by his coachman (Fig. 145). And this relief gives us a key to the sense of the whole, which is exactly the same as that of the pictures on the example from Amathus. The artist has figured the posthumous voyage by which the dead man was to arrive at the last resting-place of his soul. In the Amathus chest he showed us only the journey itself, here he supplements and completes it by representing the defunct established in his final abode ; he answers our



FIG, 145.—Sarcophagus from Athieno. Second short side.

question as to what the dead man will do when he reaches that distant bourne by showing him in possession of all the joys he prized in life, the excitement of the chase, the solace of those feasts at which all the senses were regaled at once.

By the place it gives to the chariot, this sarcophagus carries on the funerary ideas and beliefs of Phœnicia, but the whole colour and physiognomy of the work is Greek. Force and ornament have an elegance and sobriety which we missed in the monuments

from Amathus; the style of the figures is that of Greek archaism, but of an archaism already learned and skilful. The arrangement of the groups, and especially of the draperies, is a little too marked in its symmetry, but there is no lack of variety and grace in the movements and attitudes of the figures.

This sarcophagus can hardly be older than the middle of the fifth century; it may even be later, for it must have required some time for the progress accomplished by the schools of Athens and Argos to have penetrated to the distant provinces of the Greek world. The Greeks of Cyprus were never in advance of their compatriots; they always lagged behind.

§ 9.—*General Characteristics of Cypriot Sculpture.*

Cypriot sculpture lacks variety, but it is represented in our museums by hundreds and even thousands of objects. In order to study it in all its aspects, it has, therefore, been necessary to divide and subdivide our materials, a process which may have prevented the reader from grasping their characteristics as a whole. These we shall now proceed to point out.

The school has nothing spontaneous or personal about it; it is without invention or power. It begins with barbarous, even childish creations, in which, however, we can trace a desire to imitate the types created in the East. In later times the statue maker turned successively to the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek models; he never managed to conquer his own liberty and independence; he was content to imitate.

Cypriot sculpture had, then, no style in the true sense of the word; it gave no really individual rendering of the living form. But nevertheless it had habits and conventions of its own which give its creations enough family likeness to make them easy of recognition by a trained eye. This special physiognomy is due to several things—to the almost exclusive use of the local limestone, to the combination of motives borrowed from various sources, to the singularities of costume and manners among the people for whom the Cypriot artists worked. The union of minuteness with want of firmness in the execution is to be explained by the nature of the stone; nearly every figure found in

the island shows this peculiar handling. Again, the combination of details of dress and ornament taken from Egypt and Mesopotamia, with obvious signs of the influence of Greek archaism, is to be found nowhere else. The Greeks of Cyprus had certain peculiarities which are not to be found in their race outside the island. They seem to have been no fonder of gymnastic exercises than their neighbours of Citium and Amathus, and, consequently, they were not accustomed to the nudity of the palæstra, and even when they had gone to school to their Greek masters they never acquired either a knowledge of the nude or a taste for it. Their sculpture remained a draped sculpture from first to last.

It was also monotonous and without variety. It would seem that they carved stone simply and solely to honour their gods, to commemorate some act of piety; they never copied nature for its own sake—for the pleasure of rendering the beauty of form and movement. Nearly all their statues are in absolute repose. The feet are together, or separated only by a very narrow interval. Very rarely do we encounter a walking figure or one in which the weight is borne more by one leg than the other; very rarely, too, are the arms detached from the body. As a rule they hang down at the sides; one of the two is almost invariably in that attitude, and then the other is bent across the chest. In the few cases in which a different pose is adopted the fore-arm is thrust straight out from the body. The graceful archer resting on the ground with one knee and bending his bow, is no Cypriot figure in spite of its discovery at Golgos; both its movements are thoroughly Greek.[1] It shows no sign of the tradition to which all the unknown sculptors whose works we have reproduced remained so faithful.

All these fixed and long established habits had a curious result; they gave to Cypriot sculpture a look of originality to which it had no claim, and they have led more than one archæologist to believe that certain heads found at Athieno and Dali were true portraits.[2] It is beyond dispute that the heads in question are not exactly similar to each other. By carefully selecting those which differ the most, a number could be brought together which

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 155.

[2] This was the opinion of M. FR. LENORMANT. See his article signed E. de Chanot, and entitled, *Statues iconiques du Temple d'Athiénau, dans l'Ile de Cypre*, p. 197 (*Gazette archéologique*, 1878, pp. 192-201).

would appear to confirm the notion of portraits; but quite a different impression is made if we review a large number of these monuments, such series, for instance, as those possessed by the museums of Paris and New York. We then find that each variety is present in many examples which repeat each other like so many replicas, being distinguishable only by size and by shades of difference so slight as to be almost imperceptible. The sculptor makes a difference between a youth, an old man, and a man of middle age. Moreover, the types chosen for these separate ages are modified by place and also by time, according to the dominant influence of the moment, whether that be Assyrian, Egyptian, or Greek. The heads carried out under one or another of these influences, and perhaps in one studio, form groups whose internal similarity is so great that if they were in clay instead of stone we might almost fancy they had all come from the same mould.

The fact is that the Cypriot types never lost the general and abstract character found in every school in which the sculptor has been content to accept conventions created by others, rather than sit down before nature and question her simply and sincerely. Thus we find in one example the mild placidity of the Egyptian (Fig. 79), in another the hooked nose of the Shemite (Fig. 74), in others, again, the fine proportions and general nobility of the purest Greek type (Figs. 95, 96). We do not mean to say that the Cypriot artist was blind to the individual characteristics of the heads he had to copy. He was no realist, in the best sense of the word, as the Egyptian was before him and the Greek was to be afterwards; preoccupied with models sent in from outside, he did not even succeed, like his Assyrian *confrère*, in clearly portraying his own national type; and yet reality must have had its effect upon work continued through so many ages. In spite of the conventional forms arising from the successive and often simultaneous imitation of foreign models, we may catch a glimpse of some of the features by which the very mixed population of the island was distinguished. Under all the reserves imposed upon the historian of an art in which a deliberate and painfully acquired mannerism plays so large a part, we may safely say that the race formed by so many crosses was not a fine one. The lines of the face often seem heavy and swollen. There is one broadly and carefully sculptured head which one may take, if not for a portrait, at least for a sufficiently faithful rendering of the commonest type

to be met with in Cyprus (Fig. 78). Now, this head is positively ugly; the eyes are large and prominent, the cheekbones high, the nose thick and round, the mouth small, but without refinement.[1] The inferiority of the type may well have helped to prevent the Cypriot artists from copying it accurately; they may have thought to embellish and improve it with the help of works by masters whose inspiration had been drawn from purer and nobler models.

In the course of our study we have had to notice monuments of very different ages, and it is natural that we should now ask between what extreme dates the development of Cypriot art should be inclosed. In Cyprus, as elsewhere, the beginnings escape us, but we have no ground for believing that the soil of the island has yielded monuments older than the Phœnician occupation, which took place some thirteen or fourteen centuries, perhaps, before our era. In spite of the primitive character of their workmanship, the statuettes found in the cemetery of Alambra show divine types related to those of Asia. Some of these figures may date therefore from the remote age mentioned above, but their forms were consecrated by tradition, and survived for a very long time without any important changes. As for stone statues, such as those found chiefly at Amathus and Golgos, we believe them, on the whole, to be far less ancient; between the figures on which the archaism of Greece has left its trace and those betraying the influence of Egypt and Assyria the differences of treatment are so slight that it is impossible to suppose they were turned out at any vast interval of time. There is one statue, even, in which we find details borrowed from Egypt and Assyria used side by side with others taken from Greece (Fig. 83). The oldest of these things may be assigned to about the eighth century, and we have made it our general rule to insert nothing here which is certainly later than the fifth, although many a Cypriot statue of the same class may well belong to a much later date.

If we had undertaken to write a complete history of Cypriot art, there would then be good reason to follow it down to the

[1] Among those archæologists who have examined this type in all its varieties with the greatest attention, we must not forget M. J. GESLIN. Although we cannot accept all his views, we have consulted with profit his *Études sur l'Art cypriote* and its illustrations (in vols. i. and ii. of the *Musée archéologique* of M. Caix de Saint Amour; Paris, 8vo, 1876-1879).

Macedonian or even to the Roman conquest, but at present we are only interested in that first period of its development which ended with the final triumph of Greece. The works produced in those ages are, no doubt, mediocre in quality, but thanks to their composite character they yield more than one curious secret, and make us spectators, as it were, of the three-cornered duel that went on in the island between the three original schools of antiquity, the Chaldæo-Assyrian, the Egyptian, and the Greek, ending in the final victory of the last. Thus we find the Greek Hercules taking possession of a temple in a district which formed part of the Phœnician kingdom of Kition and Idalion down to the days of Alexander, and, at the same Kition, figurines of Aphrodite, rivalling the best of those turned out from Attic workshops, in which that goddess is represented with the features given to her by the greatest sculptors of Greece. Contemporaries may well have been deceived by the substitution, and may have failed to grasp the confused traces of a past already distant; but we have methods and lights which they had not, and we can find in Cyprus the starting-points, the first sketches, of those types from which Greek genius was to draw such marvellous results. We have seen the ill-formed but robust little god whom the Egyptians called Bes furnish the elements of a body to that Phœnician Melkart who had no statue in his Tyrian temple, and, even if this may be doubted, we have seen him play the part of a valiant hunter and slayer of monsters; we have seen him, in the giant from Amathus, the equal in height of the Hercules whom the Greeks made a son of Zeus, the god who certainly responded to the idea embodied in the Syrian Melkart.

It was the same with Aphrodite. The shores of Cyprus were her birthplace, and nowhere was the multiplication of her image, robed or unrobed, more constant or more varied. In the first instance we shall find the Greeks adopting the draped figure for their goddess, and depending mainly upon elegance of pose and happy management of drapery for her charm. But a moment will come when they will return to the more ancient form, and gradually strip their Aphrodite of all her veils. But in the interval we shall see her character change, and the goddess of fertility become the goddess of beauty; the virgin, in all the purity of her youthful forms, will take the place of the woman on whom maternity has left its mark. There is a wide difference, no doubt, between these

two renderings of a single idea, but the connecting thread is never lost; we can follow every transition. The emblems held by the draped Aphrodites of Greece, the movement by which they raise the skirts of their robes, we have found them all in the Cypriot and Phœnician statuettes of Astarte.

And both in Asia and Cyprus, in the neighbourhood of those temples in which the same divinity was worshipped under different names, the manufacture of images in which her wide hips and distended breasts were frankly displayed was never intermitted. Some Cypriot figures of this class are very ancient, while others date from no farther back than the fifth or fourth century. Pilgrims returning from the Paphian shrines sprinkled these figurines over all the shores of the Mediterranean. We have refused to accept the hypothesis which would make Praxiteles go to one of them for the motive of his famous statue, but perhaps the gradual disrobing of Aphrodite which took place from the time of Pheidias onwards, first a shoulder, then the torso, and finally the whole body, being uncovered, may have been suggested by these statuettes. They swarmed in Asia Minor and Cyprus, and some must have found their way to Attica. Did not the merchants of Tyre and Sidon have their temples at the Piræus? Rude and coarse as they were, these Asiatic idols offered a theme to the sculptor which he had not yet treated, and may well have roused in him the ambition to present the world with an Aphrodite distinct from those which had so far monopolized the sanctuaries.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, it is certain that the Greek goddess of the fourth century was and remained identical down to the day of her death with that venerable Nature-goddess whose first shrines were reared on the Euphrates thousands of years before. But as her years increased, this immortal grew younger; her flesh became, as it were, transfigured until it presented to human eyes the perfection of the female form: and her spirit was awakened at the same time; it became alive to sentiments previously unknown, and these when rendered by an ambitious and skilful art, gave a new charm to her body—the charm of expression.

Between the oldest images of the Oriental goddess, some naïvely shameless in their nudity, others crushed under a heavy harness of robes and jewelry, and the masterpiece of Praxiteles,

there is all the patient invention, all the ardour and ceaseless ambition of the Greek genius; and yet the chain is never broken. The path we have laid down will lead us to the feet of the Medicis Venus and the Venus of the Capitol; and when we bend almost in worship before those deathless marbles, our minds will turn to the rude figures of stone and clay picked up on the sites where the first Greeks learned to adore Astarte the Syrian. Sometimes a father will attempt to trace in the girl arrived at the perfection of early womanhood the angular shapes of the daughter of ten years before, and the task of the archæologist is much the same. Before his comparisons can be established, he must, in most cases, go through a long and patient study of detail. We shall, we hope, never shirk such study, but we might almost dispense with its more laborious collations when Aphrodite and her Eastern prototype are in question. This filiation has never been contested; even now popular tradition affirms it. Cyprus is the home of Aphrodite; there even the name of the mother of Christ is coupled with that of the heathen goddess, for the peasants adore her as Panaghia-Aphroditissa.



CHAPTER III.

GEMS.

An intaglio is nothing but a small bas-relief reversed, and he who executes it can only be looked upon as a sculptor working under particular conditions. We shall, therefore, find in the glyptic monuments of Phœnicia the same characteristics as those we have already studied in larger works. Both in the forms of seals and in the figures cut in them, the signs of an eclectic art, of an art at once sterile and prolific, which found it easier to borrow than to invent, may be readily traced.

This perpetual bent towards imitation had one curious result: the copies are sometimes made with so much skill that we can hardly distinguish them from the originals. The archæologist does not want to be duped by these pasticcios, but when he seeks to shake himself free of the embarrassment thus caused, he cannot depend upon those facts and indications which help him when works of sculpture proper are in question. Such things as rings, cones, and scarabs, travel easily, and information as to where and how they were found is often wanting and nearly always untrustworthy. Even where the evidence of witnesses to a find may be thoroughly relied upon, it is of little value except in the case of large deposits of gems of one character and class of execution. The *provenance* of a statue may often be divined from its material, but the hard stones from which gems are cut are found in many countries, and when they are wanting they can be easily imported in lumps each of which will yield many intaglios.

It is evident, then, that this question of origin is surrounded by many difficulties; the real way to decide it is to study the details of the finished gem with great care and minuteness. Sometimes it will bear an inscription; in that case alphabet and language will

tell us to what race its owner belonged. Sometimes we shall find that it has served two owners of different races, or at least that it was made for one and used by the other. Here, for instance, is a seal quite Assyrian in style (Fig. 146). The types it bears are continually encountered in the sculpture and glyptics of Babylon and Nineveh, especially the forked symbol in the middle of the field; this is never absent from Chaldæan land-marks on which contracts are engraved.[1] The inscription reads thus: *Yrphael son (of) Hora'da'd.*[2]

The true criterion is the style and motive of the work. We can recognize a Phœnician origin in the frequent return of symbols like the disk and crescent group (Fig. 147), and in the mixture of ideas borrowed from different schools. Thus on the flat of a carnelian scarab with the inscription "*to Baka*," we see two figures standing and facing each other (Fig. 148). The *crux ansata* and lotus-flower in their hands gives them the air of Egyptian gods;



FIG. 146.—Cylinder in the British Museum. From De Vogüé.

but their head-dress is not Egyptian, and their costume is arranged after a fashion only to be found in Chaldæa and Assyria. One leg

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Fig. 10, and Vol. II. Fig. 120.

[2] Guided by the form of the letters M. DE VOGÜÉ (*Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*, p. 123) places this inscription among Aramæan texts, the name given to that form of Semitic writing which prevailed in the north and west. As the scholars who busy themselves over this question themselves proclaim, there are a number of very short texts in which the few letters by which, towards the eighth or seventh century of our era, the form of writing we call Aramæan was distinguished, do not occur; in such cases it is impossible to say to which class they belong. Moreover, between the tribes who adopted Aramæan writing and those who made use of the form we know as Phœnician there was no real difference in language or civilization. We shall, therefore, unite in the present chapter all those intaglios which appear to have served as seals to men of Syrian or, to employ the usual adjective, Semitic race. Unless otherwise specified, all the gems we reproduce are figured their actual size.

stands out bare to the front, while the other is covered by a long skirt hanging in a point nearly to the ground.[1] The engraver took his models almost at hazard from the rich accumulations of his neighbours ; he thus built up for himself a secondhand repertory, whose elements he varied according to the impulse of the moment, or rather, perhaps, according to the tastes of the different clients for whom he worked.

This industry must have sprung up among the Phœnicians and Syrians of the north very soon after they entered into close relations with Mesopotamia. They did not want seals for their trade with the barbarous tribes on the Mediterranean coast, for that was carried on by barter and without credit, but their commerce with Nineveh and Babylon was another matter. Every transaction had its documents, which were drawn up by a scribe and formally sealed by the parties interested. When the Syrian merchants established themselves in the bazaars of Mesopotamia, they must have conformed to the customs of the people with whom

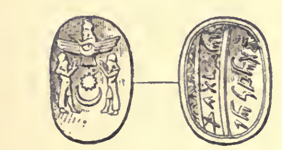


FIG. 147.—Seal. From De Vogüé.



FIG. 148.—Scarab. From De Vogüé.

they dealt, and provided themselves with those seals by which their persons were represented and their acts attested.

These private contracts, of which so many have come down to our time, always begin with a formula implying the possession of a seal by each contracting party. In their texts we find Assyrians and Chaldæans figuring side by side with people who, from their names and the particulars by which those names are accompanied, must have been Syrians, Jews, and Phœnicians. Sometimes a cuneiform inscription is found over a few words in Phœnician. No doubt the stranger merchants were called upon to put their seals to a bargain as soon as it was concluded, and when they were as yet without the wherewithal, they bought one at the nearest lapidary's, and caused him to put their names upon it. In such a case the engraving of the added letters is much less careful than that of the original inscription ; sometimes they are popped down

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 132, 136, 137, 140, 141, &c.

at random in the field. We may see this in an example already given (Fig. 146): in the one here figured it is no less conspicuous (Fig. 149). Above a group composed of two griffins and a winged man the name *Harkhon* may be read in Aramæan letters.

The Phœnicians were not the people to stop there. As soon as they saw that any industry would yield a profit they turned their hands to it. They saw workmen cutting cylinders in Chaldæa and scarabs in Egypt: they procured the required tools and materials, and before long, if they did not rival their masters in the nobility of their designs and the elegance of their work, they at least had a new industry; their workshops delivered seals of all shapes and prices, and in such varied materials as stone, glass, and glazed faïence, in any quantity that might be required. We know



FIG. 149.—Cylinder in the British Museum. From De Vogüé.

from a text of Ezekiel that gem-cutting flourished at Tyre in the sixth century. The prophet thus addresses the Tyrian king:—

> "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God;
> Every precious stone was thy covering,
> The sardius, topaz, and the diamond,
> The beryl, the onyx, and the jasper,
> The sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold;
> The workmanship of thy tabrets and thy pipes was prepared,
> Was prepared in thee on the day that thou wast created." [1]

[1] EZEKIEL xxviii. 13. The French translation of the Bible gives the same sense to these last two lines as our Authorized Version; the words are: "*Tes tambourins et les flûtes étaient à ton service, préparés pour le jour où tu fus créé.*" If we had to accept these renderings we should have to believe that the prophet did not follow his thought to the end of the passage. But M. DE LUYNES (*Numismatique des Satrapies*, p. 71) has remarked that this long enumeration of the stones employed in the king's adornment naturally suggests another interpretation of the words translated in the Vulgate by "*opera tympanorum tuorum at foraminum tuorum.*" The

With their commerce the Phœnicians could have no difficulty in procuring all these stones. Some would come from Central Asia, by way of Chaldæa; others from the peninsula of Sinai, by way of Egypt; and some they would find at their hands, in Palestine. Thus one of their favourite materials, the dark green jasper, is to be found in large blocks in the Djebel-Usdum, on the shores of the Red Sea.[1] We see, then, that Phœnicia had all she wanted for the cultivation of the glyptic art; she had models, instruments, and materials; once she had grasped the use of a seal she must have quickly found its advantages, and used it in business both in Syria itself and in her distant colonies. The number of intaglios attributable on one ground or another to the Phœnicians, the Jews, and the Aramæans is very great; we can here only find room for a few examples, which we have chosen in such a way as to give an idea of the forms they preferred and of the subjects they habitually treated.

It appears that the cylinder form of seal did not find favour with them: to obtain a good stamp with it required both practice and an appreciable instant of time; even in Mesopotamia it was so used in most cases as only to make a partial impression.[2] A practical race like the Phœnicians found it more convenient to use seals by which a complete print could be given by a single instantaneous motion, so that they adopted the scarab and the cone, the former from the Egyptians, the latter from their Asiatic neighbours.

We can, then, point to only a very small number of cylinders cut in Phœnicia. Perhaps the most curious of them all are those in the Tyskewitch collection, on which the owners' names are inscribed in cuneiform characters.[3] They are not Assyrian, for

tympana and *foramina* of the prophet are nothing, he says, but the wheels, or drums, of wood or lead on which lapidaries polish their stones, and the drills with which they pierce them.

[1] LORTET, *La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 433

[2] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. pp. 254-5.

[3] OPPERT, *Deux Cylindres phéniciens avec Inscriptions en Caractères cuneiformes* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, pp. 180-184). It is a pity that M. Oppert has been satisfied with figuring the inscriptions; we should have been very grateful for reproductions of the images by which they were accompanied. We have seen these, and their characteristics are entirely those of Phœnician work in which the artist has been inspired by Egyptian models. We are told that these two cylinders were found in Egypt.

they bear the name of Reshep, a Phœnician god, and one of the figures upon them is that of a hawk-headed Egyptian divinity. Moreover, there are mistakes in the transcription of the Phœnician legend into cuneiform, faults which should rather be laid to him who furnished the text than to the engraver : the former knew Assyrian, but not well. The most likely explanation of these curious objects is, perhaps, to suppose them due to the desire of Sidonian merchants who had lived long in Mesopotamia to possess seals like those used by the inhabitants of a country in which they had gained much wealth. According to M. Oppert, the inscription on one reads :

Addumu, man of the strong city of Sidon. Personal seal.

On the other :

Annipi, son of Addum, the Sidonian.

so that they would appear to have belonged to father and son.

In this instance every detail, both of figures and lettering, points to the Phœnician imitator, but it is not often that we can make so sure. Look for instance at this cylinder from the country north of Lebanon (Fig. 150).[1] In the five characters there engraved the characteristics of Aramæan writing may be traced, so that by *provenance* and by its inscription the monument is Syrian ; but the theme, the struggle between a divine or royal personage and two animals, is one of those created by Mesopotamian art, and frequently repeated from the time of the old Chaldæan monuments down to that of the Persian kings : the sacred tree and the crescent moon also belong to the same repertory. The costume of the principal figure is that of an Achæmenid prince. The type, as a whole, is that of the royal seal of Darius and his successors, a type which was adopted by the satraps and other officers who represented the royal authority. We can easily understand how such an officer should make use of a cylinder like this in Syria, but we have no means of knowing whether it was all the work of

[1] This cylinder was exhibited to the Society of Biblical Archæology by Mr. Rylands (*Proceedings*, 1883-1884, p. 16). Its owner, Mr. Henry Reichart, thought the inscription should be read as the name of the Baal of Aphaca, but that reading is inconsistent with the text as reproduced in the *Proceedings*. As M. Renan remarked to me, it is possible that an error of transcription may have been committed. The figure rendered as a crescent by the engraver may well have been a *lamed*, which has much that form in Aramæan. In that case the name would be that of the owner, and might, perhaps, be read as *Baletân*.

a Phœnician lapidary or whether the inscription was put on afterwards, either for the Persian officer himself or for some native of the country who may have turned the seal to his own use.

We have, then, no reason to believe that the Phœnicians themselves ever adopted the cylinder. If the fashion had become general, we should find examples decorated with motives taken now from Assyria and now from Egypt, but nothing of the kind has been encountered either in Syria itself, or at Carthage, or in Sardinia. Speaking generally, we may say that there are no Phœnician cylinders. And this makes it all the more strange that they should occur in Cyprus in considerable numbers.

This curious fact was first brought to light by the discovery of the treasure of Curium, which comprised among its other precious objects a certain number of cylinders, mostly in green serpentine;[1] others in the same style have been found among the ruins of the temple and at other points in the city. In the tombs at Salamis

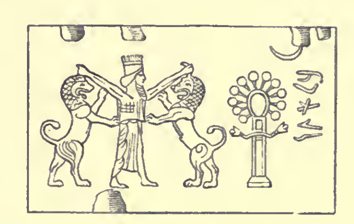


FIG. 150.—Cylinder in opaque carnelion.

Mr. Alexander di Cesnola found similar objects in still greater numbers; their material was in most cases either hematite, steatite, or jasper.[2]

The first question suggested by these cylinders is: Were they made in the island, or were they imported? Now in the first place only a very small minority—three out of more than a hundred —bear cuneiform inscriptions: they were found at Curium.[3] It would seem that if the engraving had been done in a country where

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 316 and 387. In plates xxxi. and xxxiii. of this work thirty-two cylinders are figured: General di Cesnola does not tell us whether he made a selection or whether he has given us all.

[2] This we are told by Mr. KING—speaking, no doubt, on Cesnola's authority— who was charged to describe the rings and other gems comprised in the Curium treasure (*Cyprus*, p. 355).

[3] See chapter xii. of the book entitled, *Salaminia* (*Cyprus*): *the History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus*, 1 vol. 8vo, London, 1882.

cuneiform writing was in constant use inscriptions in that character would have been less rare.

And as for the three in which such legends do occur, must we look upon them as authentic products of an Eastern workshop? Not being Assyriologists, we cannot decide the question, but the only competent scholar who has studied these objects seems to have no doubt upon the point.[1] According to Mr. Sayce two of these cylinders belong by their language and writing to the first Chaldæan Empire, while the third dates from the Sargonid period; in the latter he sees one of those seals on which the Babylonian scribes introduced, by a kind of archaic affectation, letters which were no longer in current use. We may ask ourselves, however, whether the last of these three monuments does not admit another explanation.

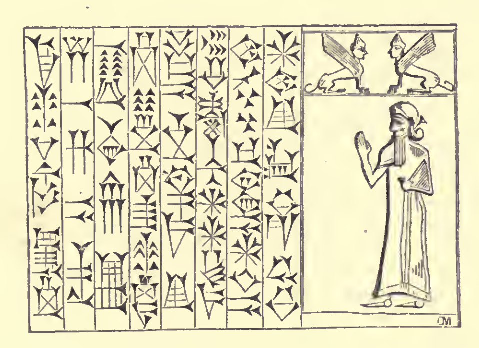


FIG. 151.—Cylinder of rock crystal. New York Museum.

The cylinder in question is a large one of rock-crystal (Fig. 151). The subject is very simple; it is nothing but a figure dressed like a Chaldæan priest, standing in the attitude of worship. In front of him appears an eight-lined inscription composed of "ill-formed letters; some of them quite undecipherable." These shortcomings are difficult to explain, if we admit that the work is Chaldæan, while they are quite natural if we look upon it as a copy made by some Cypriot artist from an old Chaldæan seal. We are the more disposed to accept this conjecture by the presence of a detail yet to be noticed, namely, the pair of winged sphinxes which occupy a compartment just over the priest's head. So far the workman had imitated his foreign model with care, but as the

[1] Mr. SAYCE, in his article entitled "The Babylonian Cylinders found by General di Cesnola" (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. pp. 441-444).

end of his labour approached, he saw that a better result would be obtained if he filled up the void at the top of his right-hand compartment, and he did so with a group for the idea of which he had not far to go. The winged sphinx certainly appeared in Assyria at the time of the Sargonids, and after the conquests of Syria and Egypt; but Mesopotamian artists gave it neither the fine proportions nor raised wings we see here;[1] in this form it is only to be met with on those ivories which themselves may have issued from Phœnician workshops.[2] It is not to be found in any Chaldæo-Assyrian cone or cylinder of certain origin. In Phœnicia on the other hand, and in Cyprus, these winged sphinxes, sometimes back to back but more often facing each other, are everywhere; they are used to decorate buildings and portable objects; they are found upon engraved gems (Fig. 152); they are, in fact, hackneyed, and in putting them on this cylinder the Cypriot artist has in a sense signed his work.



FIG. 152.—Engraved gem in M. Péretié's Collection. From De Vogüé.

If the foreign imitator can be detected here, where the work is so carefully done, still more easily can we recognize him where the model has not been so closely followed; only those who have examined the whole series can believe how rough and awkward the execution of these cylinders is. It is not the halting execution of archaism, through which a sincere and even powerful effort can be so often discerned; it is the negligence of haste, of artists who copy types without understanding, or caring to understand, their meaning; the handling is rapid and superficial; the tool has little more than scratched the stone, and as if to make quantity make up for quality, the artist has extravagantly multiplied his figures; his field is encumbered with objects which seem, as often as not, to have little or no relation with each other. Here is a cylinder from Salamis, which may be taken as a fair example (Fig. 153). In the centre a personage holds up two nondescript animals

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Figs. 38-85.
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. II. Figs. 58 and 59.

by the hind legs ; the attitude is that of Artemis Persica. Right and left there are two men of unequal stature, some real and fictitious animals, crosses, bull's heads, globes, and other objects difficult to define.

A still rougher design is to be seen on another cylinder from the same place, the field of which is divided horizontally into three sections (Fig. 154). It is little more than a sketch with the point,

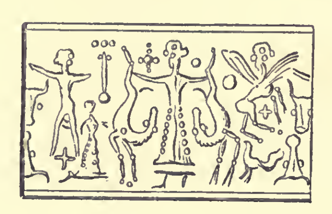


FIG. 153.—Hematite cylinder. From A. di Cesnola.[1]

but at least its general sense may be grasped ; the engraver has figured the hunting, capture, and immolation of a gazelle. In the upper division we see a gazelle and two hunters ; in the next the same animal stands between the hunters with an arrow in its breast ; in the third, one of the hunters has sacrificed the gazelle to a seated god and hung up its head in the temple.

Many of these cylinders appear to contain allusions to the great deity worshipped at Paphos. A clear instance of this may be seen

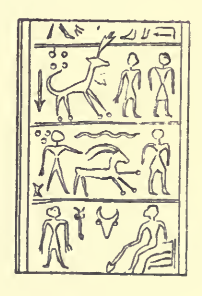


FIG. 154.—Steatite cylinder. From A. di Cesnola.[2]

in one from Salamis of fairly careful execution (Fig. 155). Two figures with raised arms offer doves ; the third figure can only be that of the goddess ; behind her a lion and a griffin, both sitting, are introduced. Not a few of these same gems have an object engraved on them which we may, perhaps, identify with one of the forms under which the Cypriot Astarte is figured, namely the

[1] *Salaminia*, plate xii.

[2] *Ibid.* plate xiii.

image which is a cone beneath and a roughly-suggested woman above (see Vol. I. Figs. 29, 199, 232, and the tail-piece to Chapter IV.). We think that something of this kind may be recognized in the lower left-hand corner of Fig. 153, and the same emblem is to be found high up in the field of the impression reproduced in Fig. 156. On this cylinder three people are shown apparently hand in hand; perhaps they are engaged in one of the sacred dances we have already encountered (Fig. 123).



FIG. 155.—Jasper cylinder. From A. di Cesnola.[1]

On the cylinder last described, the bull's head appears twice over; it is very common on these Cypriot seals. The question as to whether it has a meaning, or is nothing but ornament, can only be answered by further research. It seems to have been one of the signs of which the alphabet used in the upper valley of the Orontes and upon both slopes of the Amanus, the Hittite alphabet, was composed. Other symbols from the same writing have been found on these cylinders, such as the serpent and the object

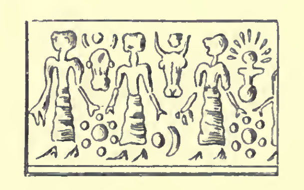


FIG. 156.—Steatite cylinder. From A. di Cesnola.[2]

shaped like a dagger with a large triangular blade.[3] It has also been noticed that in some of these intaglios the people wear foot coverings turned up at the ends, like those worn by all the figures in the so-called monuments of Hittite art.[4] Here we can do no

[1] *Salaminia*, p. 121.
[2] *Ibid.* plate xii.
[3] This has been pointed out by Mr. SAYCE. See *Salaminia*, pp. 118, 119, 121, 125.
[4] This detail is very noticeable in figs. 4 and 6 of Mr. Alexander di Cesnola's Catalogue.

more than point out these resemblances; before any conclusions can be drawn from them, better acquaintance must be made with a system of writing and a series of monuments which have only begun very lately to attract the attention of scholars.

With the mention of one more example we must leave this question of cylinders. The specimen here figured (157) is interesting for the way in which the three birds are treated. In the motive as a whole we may recognize one of the earliest made use of by decorators of pottery when they grew tired of geometrical forms. We have already encountered it on a potsherd from Assyria,[1] and we shall meet it again in ancient vases from Mycenæ and Attica; its occurrence on a seal is curious.

From the examples we have given and the remarks they have suggested, it would seem to follow that by far the greater number of the cylinders found in the island are only pasticcios, and pasticcios of no particular merit; but it is difficult to go farther and explain

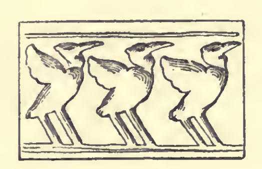


FIG. 157.—Cylinder of green glazed earthenware. From A. di Cesnola.[2]

how they came there, how this fashion of a cylindrical seal got itself established in Cyprus at all when nothing of the kind is to be observed at any other point in the Phœnician world. And the fashion seems to have had no slight duration, because, although some examples are rude enough, in others we can trace the influence of Hellenic archaism (Fig. 155). It is strange that the islanders, who were farther from Mesopotamia than their cousins on the Syrian mainland, should have thus adopted a form neglected by the latter on account, no doubt, of its inconvenience. The matter is rendered all the more curious when we recollect that these cylinders were found in such a Hellenic district as that about Salamis. Must we believe that before being colonized by the Greeks, this part of the island was occupied by a population deriving from those Hittites of Northern Syria whose history has yet to be studied? The

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Fig. 187.

[2] *Salaminia*, plate xii.

Hittites certainly used cylindrical seals, which are found in their country and engraved with their peculiar characters and plastic types.

The solution of the problem may be found in new discoveries in the fresh points of comparison they may afford ; here we can only point to the very interesting fact as it stands. Moreover these Cypriot cylinders form an isolated phenomenon, a caprice of local taste ; it is upon cones and spheroids, borrowed from Western Asia, and upon scarabs due to the example of Egypt, that we must seek for the favourite themes of the Phœnician lapidary.

Cones are very numerous ; we have already figured two (tailpiece to Vol. I. Chapter II. and above, Fig. 39); we here reproduce a third for the sake of the image engraved on its base (Figs. 158 and 159). Two animals, goats perhaps, are erect on their hind-legs at each side of a column ; the motive differs little from that of the famous

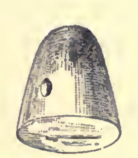


FIG. 158.—Cone in green jasper. Louvre.



FIG. 159.—Base of the above cone enlarged.

Lion Gate at Mycenæ. Scarabs, too, are so plentiful that the only difficulty is to make a choice. We have already had occasion to figure several, both of Syrian and Sardinian origin (Vol. I. Figs. 141, 146 ; tail-pieces to Chapters III. and V. ; Vol. II. Figs. 19, 20, and tail-piece to Chapter II.) Many of them are scarabæoids rather than scarabs strictly speaking ; the convex side of the stone has a distant resemblance to the sacred insect, but is not copied from it ; we can feel that the lapidary did not attach the same ideas to the shape in question as his Egyptian confrère ; he preserved it out of respect for tradition and because its flat oval base was well suited to its purpose. On the other hand there are Phœnician scarabs in which the body of the insect is as carefully made out as in any similar work from Egypt. A fine specimen of unknown *provenance* which has been in the British Museum for more than a century, is an instance in point (Figs. 160 and 161). Here the

body is elaborately finished and properly detached from the base on which it rests.[1]

The taste and methods of the Phœnician lapidary can hardly be seen more clearly than on this scarab. The general form is Egyptian, so is the *crux-ansata* in the middle of the table. On the other hand, the rest of the image is Chaldæo-Assyrian in



FIG. 160.—Scarab. British Museum.

character; we must go to Mesopotamia to find the originals of this seated deity and his standing worshipper.[2] The eight-pointed star is also often met with in Assyrian intaglios.[3] Finally the method of work is clearly imitated from the cylinders. The Aramæan inscription reads: *To Hodo, the scribe.*



FIG. 161.—Base of the above scarab.

Several mounted scarabs were found in the Curium treasure. They must have been worn suspended from the neck by a cord

[1] There is a modern copy of this scarab in the Louvre, by which even DE LONGPÉRIER himself was deceived (*Notice des Antiquités assyriennes, babyloniennes, perses, hébraiques, exposées dans les galeries du Louvre*, 3rd edition, p. 139). M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU has pointed out the mistake in one of those critical papers in which he so greatly excels: *Un Monument phénicien apocryphe du Musée du Louvre, Journal Asiatique*, April, May, June, 1884).

[2] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 137, 143, 144.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. I. Fig. 12; Vol. II. Fig. 152.

passed through a ring attached to the mount. The first of the three examples here given has lost its handle; nothing remains but the actual setting. The subject is a doe suckling her fawn (Fig. 162). The second has been drawn in such a way that the careful treatment of the insect's body and the fashion of its attachment to the handle may be seen (Fig. 163); the third has its



FIG. 162.—Scarab with part of its mount. From Cesnola.[1]



FIG. 163.—Scarab. From Cesnola.[2]

table turned to us (Fig. 164); its subject is Horus in the form of a crowned hawk, with crook and flail.

Phœnician and Cypriot stones, some oval and some round, have been dug up still fixed in a ring. The Phœnicians were, perhaps, the first to bring that very convenient way of carrying a seal into general use. From them the Greeks took the fashion and used it to the exclusion of all others. A sardonyx in which the seal of

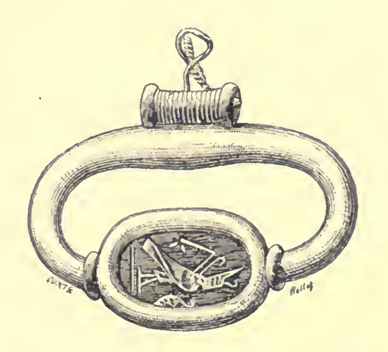


FIG. 164.—Scarab. From Cesnola.[3]

Abibal, father of Hiram, king of Tyre, has been recognized, must have been set in this way (Fig. 165).[4] The name is carefully, very

[1] *Cyprus*, plate xxvi. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 310.

[4] DE LUYNES, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies, et de la Phénicie*, pp. 69-70, and plate xiii. fig. 1. This is really no more than a conjecture, but it receives no slight confirmation from two things; the workmanship is very Egyptian, and there is only one Abibal in the list of the Tyrian kings. It may be objected that there

carefully, engraved in the lower part of the field. The figure of the prince himself is dressed in the Pharaonic costume. He raises his right hand, the palm turned outwards; in his left he holds a sceptre crowned by the disk and crescent ornament. Behind him appears a standard with the same emblem, and, above it, a hawk with its head turned over its shoulder. In front of the king's forehead there is a four-pointed star.



FIG. 165.—Seal of Abibal. Florence Museum.

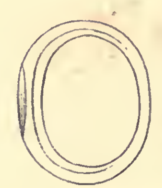


FIG. 166.—Ring with stone. From A. di Cesnola.[1]

In a gold ring from Cyprus we see the stone, a carnelion, still in place (Fig. 166). The image on this intaglio is of peculiar interest. It represents that façade of the Paphian temple which we have already encountered upon coins (Vol. I. Figs. 199 and 202); the central pylon, the wings, and the paved courtyard in front may be easily distinguished.



FIG. 167.—Stone of above ring.



FIG. 168.—Ring found in Sardinia.[2]

Intaglios in metal, like those so frequently met with in Egypt,[3] were also turned out by the glyptic artists of Phœnicia. A silver ring found in a Sardinian grave is engraved with a palmette on a disk of gold (Fig. 168), and a bracelet from the same place is ornamented in similar fashion (Fig. 169).

are many gaps in this list as it has come down to us; that is true enough, but, on the other hand, the appearance of the intaglio agrees well with the date of Abibal.

[1] *Salaminia*, p. 40.

[2] *Bullettino Sardo*, 1858, p. 74.

[3] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 500.

The glyptic art must have been introduced into Phœnicia at the time of her first intercourse with Egypt. The text which tells us it was practised in the towns of the Syrian coast only dates from the sixth century, but we possess intaglios of a much earlier date than that. We should ascribe the sardonyx with the name of



FIG. 169.—Bracelet found in Sardinia.

Abibal to the eleventh century (Fig. 165), but in any case we can point to Phœnician seals dating back, at least, to the eighth century. Such, for instance, is the seal picked up by Victor Place, in the foundations of one of the great Khorsabad bulls (Fig. 170). It must have been put there before the building of the palace, perhaps



FIG. 170.—Seal in transparent agate.[1]

some time before; at any rate it dates from the reign of Sargon. Like the seal of Abibal its general character is Egyptian; more than half the field is occupied by motives taken from the Nile valley; a vulture with drooping wings is set between two uræi.

[1] From DE LONGPÉRIER, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 182.

above this appears a well-cut line of Phœnician letters, reading: 'Abd-Baal, servant of Baal;' while at the top, the purely Phœnician symbols of a disk embraced by two drooping wings, and a disk within a crescent are introduced.

Judging by the form of the characters we must ascribe the next scarab (Fig. 171) to the following century. The legend reads as follows: *To Akhotmelek, wife of Joshua.*[1] The figure seated on the throne to whom an attendant is giving a bowl, is most likely the proprietor of the seal herself. The forms of the bowl and of the œnochoë are not without elegance, but the most interesting detail is the head-dress of the principal figure: this is a low tiara from which an ample veil hangs down over the back of the neck, and in front is drawn over the cheeks and under the chin, an arrangement required by the climate and still in use. The rest of this person's costume seems to be striped with many-coloured bands; they show, however, only on the right arm, and the rest of the body



FIG. 171.—Scarab of the seventh century.[2]

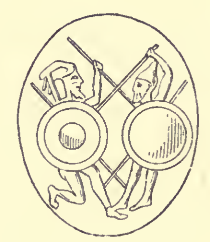


FIG. 172.—Scarabæoid.[3]

may be covered with a mantle of one colour; a similar contrast may be noticed in the dress of the servant.

Subjects of this kind, by which we learn something of the national habits and costume, are quite exceptional in Phœnician gems; we here figure another example (Fig. 172) from Curium; it is quasi-historical in character. The stone is a brown sardonyx. The engraving is roughly executed, but the subject has been recognized by some as a conflict between a Cypriot and a Persian.[4] The Persian is on the right, the spectators left. He receives his

[1] DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges, &c.*, p. 111.

[2] *Ibid.* plate v.

[3] From CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plate xxxvi.

[4] In the *Gazette archéologique* for 1878 (p. 107), the late M. FR. LENORMANT, writing over the signature of LÉON FIVEL, first pointed out the significance of this intaglio. It had been wrongly explained by Mr. O. King in his description of the Curium treasure (CESNOLA'S *Cyprus*).

opponent's lance in his breast and falls upon his knee. The *tiara* worn habitually by the Persians, as Herodotus tells us, may be easily distinguished.[1] The word *tiara* is too often applied by modern writers to the *cidaris*, the lofty head-covering proper to sovereigns.[2] Strictly speaking the tiara is a soft cap of cloth or felt with an apex which could be bent forwards or backwards, like the Phrygian cap, and movable coverings for the ears and cheeks. As for the second and victorious combatant, he wears the conical cap borne by so many terra-cotta cavaliers and infantry men from Cyprus (Vol. I. Plate II). The gem as a whole is a souvenir of the struggles between the Cypriot Greeks and the Persians during the revolt of Ionia; in the following century, during the rule of Evagoras, the subject would have been differently treated if treated at all. The execution would have been better and the style affected to some extent by Hellenic example.



FIG. 173.—Scarab.[3]

It is much to be lamented that the Phœnician engraver seldom cared to make portraits of his contemporaries or to illustrate the history of his own times. His art, as a rule, is terribly commonplace. He was content if his productions did their work; the images cut upon them were of very secondary importance, and these he stole without scruple from the rich stores of Egypt and Chaldæa. Egypt was his favourite. Upon a carnelion scarab from Amrit (Fig. 173) there are two letters giving the commencement of a name *Kheb*, an imitation of the *baris*, or sacred boat, and the winged globe. Two more are classed among Hebraic intaglios by M. de Vogüé, because the names they bear are Jewish rather than Phœnician; but we think their execution must be given to

[1] HERODOTUS, vii. 61. Herodotus explains τιάρας by πίλους ἀπαγέας. Commentators have been much exercised over this word ἀπαγής; and yet its meaning seems plain enough. It is composed of an alpha privative and πήγνυμι; its exact significance may be gathered from a phrase used by a Greek physician, who speaks of two opposed conditions of the blood as ἀπαγὲς and πεπηγός (*Thesaurus*, S. V.).

[2] The ancients sometimes applied the word τιάρα to the royal head-dress, but in that case they supplemented it with the adjective ὀρθή, *straight*.

[3] From DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges, &c.*, plate v.

Phœnician workmen. If a Jew was ready to use a seal engraved with Egyptian symbols, he would commission it from some Tyrian or Sidonian lapidary, established, perhaps, in a Jewish city. In all artistic matters the Jews were dependent on their neighbours. In Fig. 174 we see a winged, hawk-headed sphinx crowned with the *pschent ;* beneath it we read : *In remembrance of Hoschea.* In Fig. 175 a divinity kneels upon a lotus flower, the head being that of Hathor with her horns and disk. The inscription may be thus interpreted : *To Abion, servant of Ouzzion.*



FIG. 174.—Scarab in the British Museum.[1]



FIG. 175.—Intaglio.[2]

On some stones imitation of Egypt is combined with that of Assyria, in a convex carnelion from Amrit for instance (Fig. 176). We there see a priest in Assyrian dress, but with the pschent on his head, sacrificing a female quadruped, perhaps a doe ; her four young ones appear beneath her. In the upper part of the field the sun, the moon, the winged disk and an unknown proper name : *Shakab.*

In other cases the lapidary has copied subjects from the cones and cylinders of western Asia. On a flat carnelion scarab (Fig. 177) we find a priest, crowned with the Assyrian tiara and with a



FIG. 176.—Intaglio.[3]



FIG. 177.—Scarab.[4]

sceptre in his hand standing before a flaming altar. Over his head there is a crescent, and beneath the platform on which he stands, in a kind of exergue, the legend *To Abied, son of Zaker.* We encounter almost the same theme on a scarabæoid inscribed, *To Palziar-Shemesh* (Fig. 178). The priest's head-dress, however, is different. Instead of the tiara he wears a kind of scarf wrapped

[1] From DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges*, plate vii. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* plate v. [4] *Ibid.*

about his head and chin. Finally, in a seal from which M. Renan took an impression when he was in Syria, we find an exact copy of those employed in Babylon, under the second Chaldæan Empire (Fig. 179).[1] The priest's costume and attitude are the same; so are the shapes of the altar and of those strange candelabra or other appendages with which it is provided. M. Renan thus translates the inscription: (Seal) *of Hinnomi.*



FIG. 178.—Scarabæoid.[2]



FIG. 179.—Hexagonal seal.[3]

The lapidary by whom a fine cone, acquired by M. Lortet in Syria in the valley of the Nahr-Ibrahim,[4] was engraved has also made use of a current Assyrian type (Fig. 180). How often have we not met with this group of three, in which a man struggles against two rampart animals, now upon cones and cylinders, now upon the royal embroidery of a king's robe![5] But we do not think the gem is Assyrian; and for this reason. Although the



FIG. 180.—Chalcedony seal. From Lortet.

drapery which hangs about the limbs and leaves the right leg exposed is quite Assyrian in its character, the torso above it is nude, after the fashion of Egypt, making of the whole one of

[1] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Figs. 155 and 160.

[2] From RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 144.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 633.

[5] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 115, 133, 141, 253, 254, &c.

those combinations so characteristic of Phœnicia. We find the same spirit in a double-faced ellipsoid found at Jerusalem by Mr. Reichardt, a Protestant minister, which we have already figured (Fig. 147). In one face it bears this unusually long inscription: *To Menahemet, wife of Gadmoloch.* On the other, two bearded individuals, with spherical tiaras, stand in adoration before a triad composed of the sun, the moon, and that god who makes his first appearance in the winged globe of Assyria,[1] and was afterwards introduced into those of Persia. A convex white agate from Beyrout also represents a scene of worship (Fig. 181), but the sun and moon are there the only deities. The execution is rough and details of costume are hardly to be distinguished. A curious object between the figures has given rise to some discussion. M. de Vogüé, who was the first to publish this intaglio, suggests that it may be an altar;[2] and we are ready to identify it with one of those portable altars of wood or metal which were carried about for use during a journey or campaign; we have already met with them on the Assyrian reliefs.[3] The inscription reads: *To Akileled.*



FIG. 181.—Intaglio. From De Vogüé.[4]



FIG. 182.—Scarabæoid.[5]

We know from their steles and coins that the Phœnicians loved to figure their gods with great wings, sometimes expanded, sometimes folded close to their bodies (Vol. I. Figs. 192 and 218, and tail-piece to Chapter IV.; and above, Figs. 12 and 13). We find the same themes engraved on stones. On a carnelion scarabæoid we find a personage with one wing drooped towards the ground and the other raised (Fig. 182). Sanchoniathon tells us that the god El was represented with four wings, two spread and two closed, an action intended to suggest perpetual movement.[6] Here the number of wings is reduced to two, perhaps on account of

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Fig. 19.
[2] DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, p. 127.
[3] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Fig. 68; and Vol. II. Plate XII.
[4] *Mélanges, &c.*, plate vi.
[5] *Ibid.* plate v.
[6] SANCHONIATHON, Orelli edition, § 38.

the narrow field, but otherwise the arrangement agrees with what the historian of Phœnicia tells us, and we may be allowed to believe that El is the deity here figured. The seal bears the name *Ouzzd*.[1]

We meet with him again in a broken scarab found in Italy, but obviously of eastern origin (Fig. 183). The intaglio is very strong and refined in execution and must date from a considerably later period than most of those examples of Phœnician gem-cutting that have come down to us. The helmet is Greek and the rest of the subject is frankly Asiatic. One pair of wings is fastened to the shoulders of the god while the other forms the often-met-with group of the winged disk. In this case the disk is surrounded by rays which leave no doubt as to its identity with the sun. The god, then, is the master of the sky; the great deity who crosses the whole visible universe in the course of a few hours. He is helmeted like a hero to suggest his irresistible power.

We have already had occasion to point out another type both upon the oldest glyptic monuments (Vol. I. Fig. 141; Vol. II.



FIG. 183.—Broken scarab.[2]

Figs. 19, 20), and upon those coins which repeated and perpetuated the images of the ancient Syrian gods in every town founded by the Phœnicians, and that down to the last days of antiquity (Fig. 11). The type in question is the feather-crowned dwarf who, under a variety of names and attributes, embodied the idea of benevolent, generous and almost irresistible force exerted in the service of poor humanity. Whether this deity was one of the Cabeiri or whether he should he called Bes or Pouma, matters little; we have already given so many reproductions of his form that we need not draw upon gems for more. These might, indeed, afford us further elements of comparison, but such materials are already vast and they increase every day, and we must here be content with having shown, by a series of carefully-chosen examples, how Phœnicia adopted the art of gem-cutting and what use she made of it.

[1] DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges, &c.*, p. 109.
[2] In the Danicourt Collection.

The animals most frequently encountered in such intaglios as we believe to have come from the Syrian coast are those for which Oriental art always showed its predilection. The lion, for instance, is now and then figured with great skill. Among the numerous lions discovered in Phœnicia there are none to equal this on a scarab inscribed with the name A'shenel (Fig. 184) ; small as it is, it has much in common with the fine beasts on the Assyrian reliefs. The cutting, however, is Phœnician. The winged scarab at the bottom of the field is borrowed from Egypt, excluding the notion of a Ninevite engraver. A hemispherical seal in white chalcedony, without any inscription, must be of similar origin (Fig. 185). The lion's action is there well understood, but its form is a little clumsy ; it resembles the animal on the money of Azotus.

One of the favourite motives of Oriental art, was the group composed of a lion and some victim—stag, bull or ram—on which he had made his spring. A symbolism of some comprehensible but not



FIG. 184.—Broken scarabæoid.[1]



FIG. 185.—Hemispherical seal.[2]

easily definable kind, was attached to it, and for many centuries it was continually employed by art, from the coasts of the Mediterranean to the farthest borders of Persia. In most cases its character was conventional, almost heraldic, but in those centuries and among those races in which a feeling for beauty rose and flourished, the sculptor appreciated the advantages such a theme afforded ; he took pleasure in contrasting the forms of victor and victim ; he understood what an opportunity the energetic movements of the two actors in such a drama gave him. We see this clearly in a fine intaglio representing a stag attacked by a griffin while at speed ; lower down in the field grins Medusa's head (Fig. 186). We do not know where this stone was found, but there is every reason to believe that it was cut for the person, some rich Cypriot Greek, no doubt, whose name appears upon it. This name, Akestodaros, is

[1] From DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges, &c.*, plate v.

[2] French National Library. In the De Luynes Collection ; No. 234 of inventory.

engraved in Cypriot characters, in the genitive. The execution as a whole is of singular freedom; it seems to be the work of some Grecian artist of the fine time; we insert it here because it repeats an Oriental motive often used in Cyprus. At Golgos, upon a stone footstool, we find a lion devouring a bull;[1] upon a scarab from Salamis the victim is a boar;[2] one of the commonest types on coins of Kition and other Cypriot towns is a lion bringing down a stag (Fig. 21). In the example below a griffin has taken the lion's



FIG. 186.—Intaglio upon Chalcedony.[3]

place, a substitution quite according to precedent; there are many instances of it in Assyrian sculpture.[4]

In several intaglios from Sardinia and Syria, we find a winged boar (Fig. 187);[5] the example we figure comes from Phœnicia proper.

It is not without surprise that we see wings attached to such a heavy, clumsy animal as the boar; the notion is to be explained, however, by the part that animal played in one of the best-known myths of Phœnicia, the story of the life and death of Adonis.



FIG. 187.—Scarabæoid.[6]

This myth of the loves of a goddess and a young huntsman of Syria has only come down to us in the passionate and poetical form in which it was clothed by the imagination of the Greeks, and it is probable that the gems on which it is illustrated date only from the

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 159.
[2] A. DI CESNOLA, *Salaminia*, p. 159.
[3] Twice the actual size. The original is in the Danicourt Collection.
[4] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 90 and 257.
[5] *Gazette archéologique*, 1878, p. 50-53.
[6] De Luynes Collection; French National Library.

period when Greek influence was powerful in Phœnicia. It would be easy to quote a number of intaglios on which Phœnician or Aramæan inscriptions are combined with an image clearly Greek ;[1] but such things belong to Hellenic art ; their character is not changed by the mere addition of a few Semitic letters. On the other hand, we have here reproduced certain monuments whose execution betrays the influence of Hellas because their types had been invented by nations who had long preceded her on the world's stage. It was our duty to follow such themes, the first-born of plastic art, down to the end of their career, down even to the moment when they survived by the mere habit of living, and were repeated to satiety by peoples who had long forgotten their sense.

Nearly all the intaglios we have mentioned appear to have come originally from western Asia or, at least, from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The *provenance* of the great majority is known and the presumptions drawn from it are confirmed by collateral evidence. As for those whose origin has been forgotten they may be classed with almost complete certainty by their own internal characteristics. Our aim has been to arrive at a fair knowledge of what the lapidaries of Tyre, whom Ezekiel shows us covering the king's person with their gems, produced ; and no way to success seemed better than to visit the actual sites of their most famous workshops and to follow, as it were, the traces left upon the ground by the industry in question. An inquiry thus conducted could hardly fail, especially as the conclusions to which it led could be supplemented by a whole series of monuments from another point in the ancient world. A calculator likes to test his calculations, and the student of Phœnician glyptics may have the same satisfaction by visiting those Sardinian graveyards to which we have already conducted our readers ; he will there find the counterparts of the objects he picked up in Syria and Cyprus.[2]

[1] DE VOGÜÉ, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, p. 119.

[2] It was not till long after these pages were written—it was not, in fact, until their printing was complete, that vol. lv. of the *Annales de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique*, with Prof. EBERS's important paper, *Antichità sarde e loro provenienza* (pp. 76-135, plate ii. of the *Monumenti* and *Tavole d'aggiunta*, C-Ha), came into our hands. We should much have liked to profit by the remarks of the learned Egyptologist and to borrow from his plates, but it was too late. We were enabled, however, to gather that on the whole our ideas and those of Professor Ebers agreed. In his catalogue he distinguishes between, firstly, objects of Egyptian manufacture

The excavations made in Sardinia during the last forty years have clearly proved that down to the Roman conquest the chief cities of the island had scarcely any intercourse with Greece. Here and there, at very long intervals of time and space, a few Greek vases and terra-cottas have been found, and that is all. The great towns were founded by Tyre, and nourished to their full growth by Carthage. Their graveyards were modelled upon those of Phœnicia and Punic Africa; the steles and figurines picked up in them sometimes bear Phœnician texts, and always represent the divine types prevailing in Syria, Cyprus, and the territory of Carthage; and the same must be said of those seals which have been found in such prodigious quantities in the cemeteries and in the ruined cities.[1] They are nearly all scarabs; their materials are *pietra-dura*, glass and enamelled faïence. Inscriptions like those on the Phœnician seals are very rare, but a few isolated characters are often found.[2] Nothing would be easier than to arrange these intaglios into series which should correspond, feature for feature, with those for which the elements have been found by the discoveries in Syria. We shall not undertake to do it, because it would lead us too far; but a few examples, chosen from among thousands, will be enough to show that we do not speak without reason.[3]

Egyptian types abound in the collections formed in Sardinia. A certain number of scarabs, like most of those of Egypt itself, have no decoration beyond a short hieroglyphic legend. Among these the ovals of several Pharaohs—those of Menes, of Mycerinus or Menkaura, of Thothmes III., of Amenophis III., of Seti I., &c.—have been encountered.[4] But we must not suppose from

imported into Sardinia; secondly, those of quasi-Egyptian style which must have been made in Phœnicia; thirdly, objects manufactured in the latter country after Asiatic models; and fourthly, objects in which Greek influence may be traced. We need hardly say that he treats the idea of an Egyptian colony established in Sardinia, or of an immigration, under the Roman Empire, of Jews or Jewish Christians, with scant respect. He thinks that some of the objects in question are as old as the Theban Empire, but, like M. Helbig, he admits that by far the larger number must have been imported into the island during the Carthaginian supremacy, *i.e.* between the seventh and fourth centuries.

[1] A single private collection, that of the Canon Spano, includes impressions from 600 different scarabs, all found at Tharros (CRESPI, *Catalogo*, p. 131, note 1).

[2] *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. vii. p. 27.

[3] See M. MANSELL, *Les Pierres gravées de la Nécropole de Tharros* (*Gazette archéologique*, 1877, pp. 74-76; 1878, pp. 35-40, and 50-53).

[4] OCCURTI, in the *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. ii. pp. 103, 112.

this that any of them date back to the ancient empire, or even to the great Theban dynasties. Egyptologists have discovered that even in the Nile valley, and, consequently, among the peoples who copied the Egyptian types, certain ovals were taken up again and repeated many centuries after the kings to whom they had belonged were dead. No doubt their great antiquity gave them a prestige and fascination which brought them into the common repertory of the Egyptian decorator.[1]

But the hieroglyphs were not enough for a varied decoration, and engravers supplemented them with other motives more or less faithfully copied from Egyptian originals. Such for instance is the disk surmounted by an Osiride head-dress, and flanked by two uræi (Fig. 188). In another example we see the winged asp with the disk and crescent on his head (Fig. 189). Sometimes it is a more complicated affair. Here (Fig. 190) we find the oval accompanied by a hawk-headed god with the double crown in



FIG. 188.—Sardinian scarab.[2]



FIG. 189.—Sardinian scarab.[3]

adoration before an ithyphallic statue. On another the same deity stands sceptre in hand beneath the disk and crescent (Fig. 191). Three dog-headed individuals, a triple Anubis, occupy the lower part of a scarab of glazed faïence; on the upper part appear an

[1] See a note contributed by MARIETTE to M. Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 854. EBERS expresses the same opinion in the article already quoted. There is nothing surprising in the fact that M. Renan encountered scarabs with the oval of Thothmes III. in Phœnicia (*Mission*, p. 490); it might be thought they were carried thither by the Egyptian armies, but we know that they were the object of a widespread commerce, because they have been found in islands and countries on which no Theban Pharaoh ever set his foot. In Cyprus the names of Mycerinus and Thothmes III. have been found upon these intaglios (A. DI CESNOLA, *Salaminia*, pp. 137-139), and it was not until the Saite period that the island became connected politically with Egypt. As for Rhodes it was never even menaced by the ambition of Egypt, but even there SALZMANN found in a tomb a scarab inscribed with the oval of Khoufou, the Cheops of the Greeks (*Revue archéologique*, 1863, vol. viii. p. 2).

[2] *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. i. p. 120.

[3] *Ibid.*

eagle, an oval, and the head of an axe (Fig. 192). Finally, as a last example of these types taken from Egypt, we may point to a seal bearing the group with which the artists of the Nile valley flattered the vanity of their princes from the days of the ancient empire to those of the Ptolemies, namely, the king brandishing



FIG. 190.—Sardinian scarab.[1]



FIG. 191.—Sardinian scarab.[2]

his sword, his axe, or his mace, over the head of a crouching enemy (Fig. 193).[3]

As in the gems from the east, the image is sometimes a combination of Egyptian and Assyrian models. If there be one theme



FIG. 192.—Sardinian scarab.[4]



FIG. 193.—Sardinian scarab.[5]

dearer than another to the Asiatic artist it is the fight between a king and a lion. Such a combat is often figured on the Sardinian

[1] Carnelion. From CRESPI (*Catalogo*, plate A).

[2] Jasper. From CRESPI (*Ibid.*).

[3] The *baris*, which we found upon stones of Syrian origin, is often encountered upon the Sardinian scarabs (*Bullettino*, vol. ii. p. 122). Upon one we find it carried upon a crocodile (*ibid.* p. 123). With some variations in detail most of the Egyptian and Asiatic motives of the Sardinian seals are to be found on the scarabs of stone and glazed faïence forming part of the treasure of Curium (CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plates xxxv.-xxxvii.). The upper part of the field is commonly filled by the winged globe, while the griffin, the *baris*, the hawk-headed deity in various attitudes, winged genii or priests in adoration before the sacred tree, &c., are also met with. The fight between a king and a lion also occurs (*ibid.* plate xxxvi. fig. 3). We have preferred to seek our examples among the Sardinian scarabs because they have so far only been published in books difficult of access, while the work of General di Cesnola is in the bookcase of every archæologist.

[4] Glazed faïence. From CRESPI (*Ibid.*).

[5] *Bullettino, &c.*, vol. iv. plate ii.

scarabs, but in one case the attitude of the victorious monarch is that of Pharaoh; his tiara and beard, however, are those of the Ninevite kings (Fig. 194). But elsewhere he stands facing the animal and seizes him by the paws, as on some of the Assyrian reliefs and on the palace doors at Persepolis. Sometimes he wears a crown (Fig. 195), sometimes the Assyrian tiara (Fig. 196); and again we find him with the dress and cap of an Achæmenid prince and


FIG. 194.—Sardinian scarab.[1]


FIG. 195.—Sardinian scarab.[2]

engaged with a winged beast more like an unicorn than a lion (Fig. 197). A curious variant on this type is reproduced in Fig. 198, where a satyr is substituted for the king; he has just buried his sword in the lion's breast. Apparently the lapidary has here gone to Greek art for his inspiration.

The fight between a lion and a bull often recurs, but with considerable variations (Figs. 199 and 200). These fights between animals of different species seem to have been favourite subjects; upon one scarab from Sardinia we find a lion devouring a pig


FIG. 196.—Sardinian scarab.[3]


FIG. 197.—Sardinian scarab.[4]

(tail-piece to Vol. I.), upon another a snake fighting an eagle (tail-piece to Chapter I. of this volume).

The scenes of worship so common on Phœnician and Aramæan intaglios are no less frequent here; from a great number of examples we must be content to select one (Fig. 201). A bearded individual sits upon a throne before a flaming altar. He wears a tiara similar to the Persian cap of to-day and holds a torch in his hand; over his head appears the winged globe.

[1] *Bullettino, &c.*, vol. iv. plate ii. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

Our readers will notice how regular the Sardinian scarabs are in shape. In the great majority of cases they have a cable or denticulated border. There are no inscriptions, but the same types occur again and again; their execution is fair, and so firm as to suggest the work of a machine. There can be no doubt as to their being a staple manufacture, making use of patterns handed down from generation to generation. Under such conditions the fidelity of the copy was slightly modified as the ages passed on.



FIG. 198.—Sardinian scarab.[1]



FIG. 199.—Sardinian scarab.[2]

The fewest changes occur in the Egyptian series. Their design is very simple, and we must remember that Egypt was the first country to influence Phœnicia; the Phœnician workman was saturated with ideas and forms from the Nile valley; he could reproduce them, as it were, with his eyes shut. When he turned to Assyria and, in later years, to Persia, he had to make a conscious effort; he found some difficulty in entering fully into the new style and contented himself with an approximate fidelity, and with a



FIG. 200.—Sardinian scarab.[3]



FIG. 201.—Sardinian scarab.[4]

conventional treatment by which the qualities and defects of his original were recalled in rather uncertain fashion.

This difference in the success and sincerity of the imitation must have been still more perceptible among the western Phœnicians

[1] *Bullettino, &c.*, vol. iv. plate ii.
[2] Carnelion. From CRESPI (*Catalogo*, plate A).
[3] *Bullettino*, vol. ix. plate ii. [4] *Ibid.*

than among those of the east; at Carthage and in Sardinia they were farther from Nineveh and Babylon than from the Delta ports. We have more than one proof that Carthage kept up intercourse with Egypt, and that, over the whole northern coast of Africa, Egyptian taste made itself felt in architectural and ornamental details down even to the first century of our era.[1] We are then not surprised to find Egyptian types prevailing here both in number and quality. The history of Sardinia is little known, but that little allows us to believe that Caralis, Tharros, and all those other towns whose spoils fill the modern museums of the island, were never really prosperous and rich except between the end of the sixth and the end of the third century, at the time when Carthage was supreme over the whole western basin of the Mediterranean. It was then to Carthage, and to Carthage alone, that Sardinia owed both the necessaries and the luxuries of life. We have good reason to suspect that many of these seals were made in the Punic capital, but others seem to have been cut in the island itself. All those who have explored it agree upon this: that in the neighbourhoods of the principal cemeteries the very rocks from which these intaglios are cut are all to be found. Half-finished scarabs were found; lumps of jasper roughly shaped into the form of a seal.[2] This fact deserves to be remembered; gem cutting is a very delicate art, and it is curious to find it practised under the Carthaginian rule, in an island which seems to have fallen back into a kind of barbarism under the Romans.

We must now bring this study of Phœnician glyptics to a close. We may even be blamed for dwelling so long on monuments distinguished neither for originality of theme nor beauty of execution, but it was necessary to show that in this walk also the Phœnicians had deserved well of mankind.[3] They showed their usual good

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 374-376.

[2] CRESPI, *Catalogo*, p. 131; SPANO, *Bullettino*.

[3] For more complete means of comparison than we have had space to afford him, the reader may consult the *Mélanges* of M. DE VOGÜÉ, the *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramæischen, phœnikischen altebraischen, himjaritischen, nabatæischen und altsyrischen Inschriften* (Breslau, 1866) of LEVY, and the *Sceaux et cachets israélites, phéniciens et syriens, suivis d'Épigraphes phéniciennes inédites sur divers Objets et de deux Intailles cypriotes* (forty-eight pages and two plates; extracted from the *Journal asiatique* for 1883) of M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU. Many of the types here studied and reproduced with M. Clermont-Ganneau's usual precision are identical with those we have described.

sense in discarding the cylinder for the cone and scarab, both of which gave a better impression and gave it more rapidly ; we are inclined to believe that they were the first to fix seals in rings, an example by which the Greeks were to profit ; without the necessity for producing works of art within such a narrow compass, the latter might never have become the great glyptic artists they were. In any case, we know that Greek engravers drew many a hint from the seals carried by the Phœnician merchants all over the ancient world. Thus in the collection of clay impressions picked up near a temple in the acropolis of Selinus a certain number of intaglios quite similar to those we have been describing were mixed with others showing the favourite types of archaic Greek art.[1] There are a great many Egyptian symbols, such as the sacred boat, the winged globe, the dog-headed deity, the uræus, etc. It is possible that some of these impressions were made by the very scarabs that have been found. On one impression we find a bull brought down by a lion ; on another the Punic type of a horse's head, near this a woman's name, *Mishath*, appears in Phœnician letters. These merchants' seals do not betray much inventive power, but they may well have suggested types for some of the early coins of Greece.

It would be interesting to examine the oldest Greek issues, especially those of Cyprus and Asia Minor, from this point of view ; but this is hardly the place for such a comparison.[2] We have even refrained from entering into any detailed accounts of Phœnician numismatic types ; the few we have reproduced owe their place in our pages to the light they could throw on the popularity and vitality of this or that plastic motive. Our aim has been to find out what Phœnicia received from her predecessors, from Egypt, Chaldæa, and Assyria, and how much she increased the heritage of the past from her own stores. Now money was a Greek or Lydian invention ; in either case it was the Greeks who carried its use over the whole Mediterranean basin ; in that

[1] See SIG. SALINAS's interesting paper entitled, *Dei sigilli di Creta rinvenuti a Selinunte e ora conservati nel Museo nazionale di Palermo*, 4to, Roma, 1883, thirty pages and fifteen excellent plates. Sig. Salinas gives the impressions he believes to be Phœnician in plate xv., where they are numbered from 402 to 422.

[2] The latest work on the Cypriot coinage is the dissertation of M. SIX, entitled, *Du classement des Séries cypriotes*, 8vo, 126 pages and three plates (extracted from the *Revue numismatique*, third and fourth quarters, 1883). Phœnician numismatics deserve to be the object of a similar study, and M. SIX is in a better position than any one else to carry it out.

Phœnicia counted for nothing. Now and then in the course of our work we have been obliged to step outside the limits we had traced, because at many points those limits are floating and uncertain, but we cannot deliberately apply ourselves to a study which would manifestly draw us beyond our frontiers and keep us there. When Tyre and Sidon, when Kition and other Cypriot towns struck those coins of which we have reproduced here and there a specimen, by that very act they put themselves at the feet of Greece, and of Greece already mistress of all the resources of which her genius was to dispose.



CHAPTER IV.

PAINTING.

We have no reason to believe that Phœnicia made any attempt to paint the incidents of its daily life on the walls of tomb and temple, like the Egyptians, or to compile huge pictures with the help of enamelled bricks, like the Assyrians. But she must have had recourse to colour now and then, partly to disguise the rudeness of materials, partly to gain more rapid effects than were possible with the chisel.

There is, indeed, no trace of polychromy in the older Phœnician tomb chambers, but we may ask whether such a decoration did not once exist before the damps of a climate far less dry than that of Egypt had effaced them. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that around Sidon and upon several other points on the coast, hypogea of the Græco-Roman epoch show decided vestiges of painted stucco. In most cases the subjects have been nothing more than leaves, flowers, and birds; but in one tomb we find subjects taken from the fable of Psyche.[1] The occurrence of such paintings in none but tombs dating from the last years of antiquity may be accounted for by the simple fact that the latter have seen fewer winters. Many things combine to suggest that the Phœnicians loved to spread colour upon stone and clay. The anthropoid sarcophagi were painted; signs of colour have been found both on those from Syria and upon specimens brought from other points of the Phœnician world.[2]

It was the same with sepulchral steles. In some cases the image of the defunct and its accompanying epitaph are painted on the flat of a very hard stucco covering a part of the slab, and

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 209, 395-6, 661, 664.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 184.

making a little picture with a pediment above it. These steles were found in the necropolis of Sidon ; their remains are now in the Louvre.[1] It is true that they are later, perhaps a good deal later, than the Christian era ; but may we not suppose that the painters by whom they were executed did no more than continue a tradition dating back to the rise of Phœnician civilization ? The races from whom the Phœnicians took their first lessons made constant use of painted stucco. In Egypt especially every stele was painted. In Cyprus the brush had to supply one part of the decoration entirely by itself; the lower part of one of those remarkable cippi, on which a pair of sphinxes are perched, has no ornament beyond a sort of scarf put in with red paint (Vol. I. Fig. 151).[2] Now although the upper part of these steles betrays the influence of classic Greece, it is none the less certain that they must be at least three or four centuries older than those Sidonian tombstones on which the same process was used.

We know, too, that the Egyptians and Cypriots painted their statues, an example which must have been followed in Syria. In those scanty fragments, cut from the local stones, which represent Phœnician sculpture strictly speaking, we have found no traces of colour, but in almost every case the surface is worn away. The sculpture of Cyprus is in better condition, and from the observations we ourselves can make, still more from the evidence of those who saw the statues taken out of their long hiding-places in the soil, it appears to be certain that in Cyprus limestone figures were not painted all over as they were in Egypt ; colour was used with more discretion ; it was employed to add value to certain details. Spots of red are often to be found on the hair, on the beard, and in the centre of the eyeball ;[3] we may believe that the tint has changed with time ; it may be only a ground colour on which some darker but more fleeting hue was laid. Red is more in place on lips, where I have often seen it, especially on examples in the British Museum. Finally, large figures often have their robes edged with a band of red or blue ; there are even a few

[1] RENAN, *Mission*, p. 380, plate xliii. Nos. 4-9. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Stèles peintes de Sidon* (*Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 102, and plates xv. and xvi.).

[2] See Vol. I. p. 221 n. 4.

[3] DOELL, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, p. 10. CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 130. Pupils are never put in with the chisel. Wherever they occur at all they are circles of paint laid on the bare stone with the brush.

statuettes on which one or other of these colours has been spread over all the drapery.

But although colour was sparingly introduced on stone figures it was lavished on those of clay. The difference is to be easily explained. When the Phœnicians, impelled by the example of Chaldæa and Assyria, set themselves to make what had never, or scarcely ever, been made in Egypt, namely figurines in plain terra-cotta, they could not entirely shake off the influence of the glazed earthenware statuettes which existed in thousands about them; they were naturally tempted to rival the brilliant enamel spread upon every amulet or figurine which was sent from Egypt. And they were encouraged to make the attempt by the facility with which colour could be fixed upon clay by simply firing them together; by such a process a durability only less than that of the vitrified glaze was insured.

Phœnicia, then, was the cause of no progress in the use of paint; but she coloured the surfaces of her sepulchral monuments and perhaps of some other things to which time has been less tender; in her lapidary sculpture, she endeavoured to make colour make up for defects of execution; upon her terra-cotta figures she lavished the brightest and most lively tints, while upon certain vases, jewels, and objects of glass, she imitated the colours of Egyptian enamel with no little success. Like their teachers in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Phœnicians had the sentiment of colour, and by handing on the traditions they received, they at least helped to develop a taste for polychromy among the nations with whom they came into contact.



CHAPTER V.

THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

§ 1. *Phœnician Ceramics.*

When the Phœnicians had become accustomed to the sea and its perils, and had undertaken to supply the wants of the tribes who lived on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean—most of those tribes were still without the most elementary kinds of industry—the export of pottery must at once have become a steady and profitable trade. Strabo mentions earthenware vessels, together with copper vessels and salt, among the things carried to the Scilly islands there to be exchanged for tin and other metals.[1] According to Scylax, pottery held an important place in the trade carried on with the natives of Cerni, perhaps the modern Arguin on the west coast of Africa.[2]

The course of trade must have been much the same in the Mediterranean. It was not only in Africa and Britain that these goods covered the shores in the neighbourhood of the native villages; the merchants of Tyre and Sidon must have carried them also to the Greeks, the Italiots and the Libyans.

Some of the tribes with whom the Phœnicians trafficked already knew how to make earthenware vessels, but their productions can hardly have differed from those we find in so-called prehistoric deposits; they were built up by hand, of a coarse and strong clay,

[1] Strabo, III. v. 11.

[2] Scylax, *Periplus*, § 112. Scylax calls this pottery Attic pottery, κέραμον Αττικόν, but it is plain that the trade went on at a date far more remote than that which saw the establishment of the Phœnicians at the Piræus, and the commencement of their exportation of that Athenian pottery which was at once so cheap and of such excellent quality. In the fourth century, when the *Periplus* was writen, Athenian pottery may have been the staple of the trade in question, but it must have begun in the first instance with the export of native Phœnician manufactures.

and then either dried in the sun or half burnt in a fire of green twigs; they were not water-tight, while they cracked and broke up if exposed to too strong a flame. Between such things as these and the instruments offered by a superior industry the rivalry must have been short. Vessels which would neither hold a liquid nor resist a moderate fire must soon have gone down before those which would do both.

Phœnicia soon learnt to make things on which a profit was assured. The potter's wheel and oven were known in Egypt many centuries before the first town arose on the Syrian coast;[1] and even Chaldæa had long understood the fashioning and firing of clay when the ancestors of the Syrian merchants crossed her plains to establish themselves beyond the Lebanon.[2] Along the whole coast, from Arvad to Tyre, the industry of the potter must have been one of the first to be developed; as each spring came round, cargoes of jars and dishes must have left all those ports to be spread over every coast of the Mediterranean, and even beyond the pillars of Hercules. Each campaign saw the circle of clients enlarged. Even now some of the islands of the Levant in which the deposits of plastic earth are especially rich, supply pottery to their less fortunate neighbours. The people of Melos and Anaphi, for instance, carry boatloads of jars, jugs, and dishes, all over the neighbouring archipelago, covering every beach and jetty with little heaps of shining red earthenware.

Things went on in the same way thousands of years ago, but the ships were then Phœnician; but where is the Phœnician pottery, the pottery that superseded the native productions by virtue of its solid beauty? Where are we to look for it, and how are we to figure it if it escape our search?

Of course the first idea that strikes us is to turn to the graveyards, but these had been used so often and, in more recent times, had been so often rifled before any modern explorer had seen them, that hardly a vase has been found in them; if they once held such things, which is likely, the latter have long ago disappeared and left not even fragments behind. Where buildings and the stones of which they were built have been reduced almost to dust, it is not surprising to find but little traces of pottery. The few vases or pieces of vases picked up by M. Renan are either

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Chapter IV. § 2.

[2] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Chapter IV. § 1.

without interest or else date from the Græco-Roman time.[1] The Louvre possesses a few fragments from Gaza, Kherbet-Foukouar and Karak, in southern Palestine; they are decorated after the earliest geometric principles, with bands and short lines, curved or straight, and with triangles within circles.[1] The only complete vase yet found in Syria was bought by M. de Saulcy at Jerusalem, and by him given to the Louvre (Fig. 202). It is unglazed and dull in colour; the design stands out in brown upon a ground of dirty grey. The ornament is purely geometrical; a medallion filled in with chequers, meanders, triangles, lozenges, vertical and horizontal bands separated by plain spaces, make up its details. The shape is heavy and without elegance.



FIG. 202.—Vase from Jerusalem. Height 6½ inches. Louvre.

If we look beyond Syria for the materials that are not to be found within its borders, we shall still be unable to satisfy our curiosity. The ceramic industries of Cyprus were no doubt rich enough and it is more than likely that many of the vases found in the island were made in Phœnicia, but how are we to distinguish them from the rest? Have we not good reason to believe that in course of time the mixed population of Cyprus struck out a local and peculiar line for themselves in this matter of ceramic art?

[1] DUMONT, *les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, pp. 90-91.

The fact is that we can only look upon a vase as Phœnician when a Phœnician signature appears upon it. Now among the thirty Phœnician inscriptions collected by Cesnola in Cyprus and engraved on four plates at the end of the volume, there are seven copied from earthenware vases found at Kition, Paphos, Idalion and Amathos. They are not simple *graffiti*, scratched on the surface with a point by some one other than the potter by whom the vases were made.[1] They are painted in the same black as the decorative designs, and painted before firing. Unfortunately most of these vases are simple *pithoi*, great jars of smooth clay in which wine and oil were kept. Only one belongs to another class, to that of decorated pottery; it was found at Dali (Fig. 203). The decoration is the same in principle as upon the vase from Jerusalem, but the shape is more graceful and the attachment of the handles not without elegance.



FIG. 203.—Vase with Phœnician inscription. Height 13½ inches. From Cesnola.[2]

We need only mention an earthenware vase from Palermo,[3] with an inscription showing that it belonged to a certain Azrubaal; it is without ornament. Nothing of interest has been found in the Carthaginian excavations; "yellowish potsherds with the traces of brown paint, curiously recalling the archaic vases found at Corinth, at Athens, in the island of Thera and at many other points in Greece and Etruria,"[4] are vaguely talked about. As for Sardinia, we cannot learn that it has ever yielded a vase bearing either a

[1] Two small vases have *graffiti* on the feet. The authenticity of these *graffiti* is considered by the editors of the *Corpus* to be much less certain than that of the painted inscriptions.

[2] *Cyprus*, p. 68.

[3] *Corpus Inscrip. Semit.* No. 133 and plate xxviii.

[4] BEULÉ, *Fouilles à Carthage*, p. 56.

Phœnician inscription or even an isolated letter, but some of the pottery found at Tharros is not unlike things made in Cyprus either in form or decoration.[1] The gourd form, so common in Cyprus, and that of a skin bottle, are both met with.[2] In the latter case the surface is decorated with lotus flowers. And it is difficult to avoid recognizing Phœnician taste in two disks of white terra-cotta as to the size of which we are unfortunately told nothing; in the absence of such knowledge we cannot even guess their use. One of the two is decorated with four crescents each inclosing a half disk and flanked by lily-shaped buds (Fig. 204);[3] in the centre a rosette like an open flower. On the other disk we find those palmettes which we have already encountered more than once in Phœnicia (Fig. 205).[4]

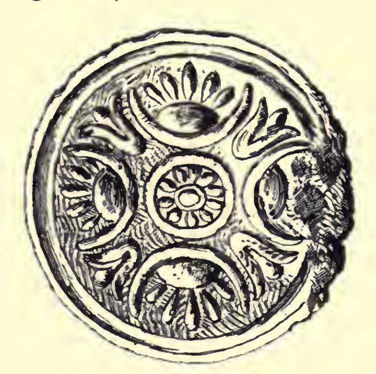


FIG. 204.—Terra-cotta disk. From Crespi.[5]

From the little we know of her ceramics it would seem then that the potters of Phœnicia employed only that form of decoration

[1] E. PAIS, *la Sardegna prima del dominio romano*, p. 90. The main types of this industry are brought together in CRESPI's plate E (*Catalogo*).

[2] CRESPI (*Catalogo*), plate E, figs. 5 and 8.

[3] Elsewhere the crescent embraces a whole disk. M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU proposes an ingenious explanation for the group thus formed. May it not represent, he asks, the phenomenon known in France as *la lumière cendrée*, in England as *the old moon in the arms of the new?* In that case it would be a symbol, not of the sun's birth from the moon, but of the latter's renewal by her own power.

[4] "It would seem that *fabriques* of common pottery existed from the earliest times at Tharros, Olbia, Sulcis, and other places in the island. We may come to this conclusion, in the first place from the enormous quantity of fragments found in the Sardinian graveyards; secondly, from the quality of the earth of which these things are made. Similar deposits still exist in the neighbourhood of the towns in question." (Letter from M. VIVANET, dated February 19, 1881).

[5] *Catalogo*, plate E, figs. 1 and 2.

which we call geometrical. We might have foreseen this result, for if there be one fact more sure than another about Phœnicia it is that everything we find there had previously existed in Egypt or Mesopotamia. Phœnicia invented no types and motives for herself. Now the common unglazed red pottery of Egypt is almost always without ornament, while that of Mesopotamia hardly shows a motive that is not geometrical; with the exception of a few fragments on which the figures of birds and lions may be traced, there is nothing to show that the decorator ever felt any desire to break the monotony of his work by introducing animal forms. We are as yet without any proof that in this respect the Phœnician potters followed those of Nineveh. Such proof may of course come to light some day, but at present we may conclude that in Syria nothing but geometrical ornament was used upon the common unglazed



FIG. 205.—Terra-cotta disk. From Crespi.[1]

pottery. On one of those bowls which are commonly allowed to be Phœnician (Fig. 206) we see two vases or jugs standing upon a table. It is difficult to decide whether they are of metal or earthenware, but in any case their ornament is purely geometrical.

But the Phœnicians had another kind of pottery, more carefully manufactured and, no doubt, more expensive, I mean that which both by its appearance and constitution belongs to the same class as what is called Egyptian faïence.[2] In this manufacture the surface decoration is not given by colours spread upon the clay with the brush, but by powdered glass variously coloured by metallic oxides. These powders are mixed with gum and spread upon the

[1] *Catalogo*, plate E, figs. 1 and 2.
[2] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. pp. 369-373.

clay, after which the object is submitted to sufficient heat to vitrify the mixture.[1]

The industry was so peculiarly Egyptian that the Greeks called this enamelled earth *Egyptian stone* (λίθον αἰγυπτιακόν). In a passage already quoted, Scylax makes use of this term and, no doubt, he meant by it to denote those countless seals, amulets, and

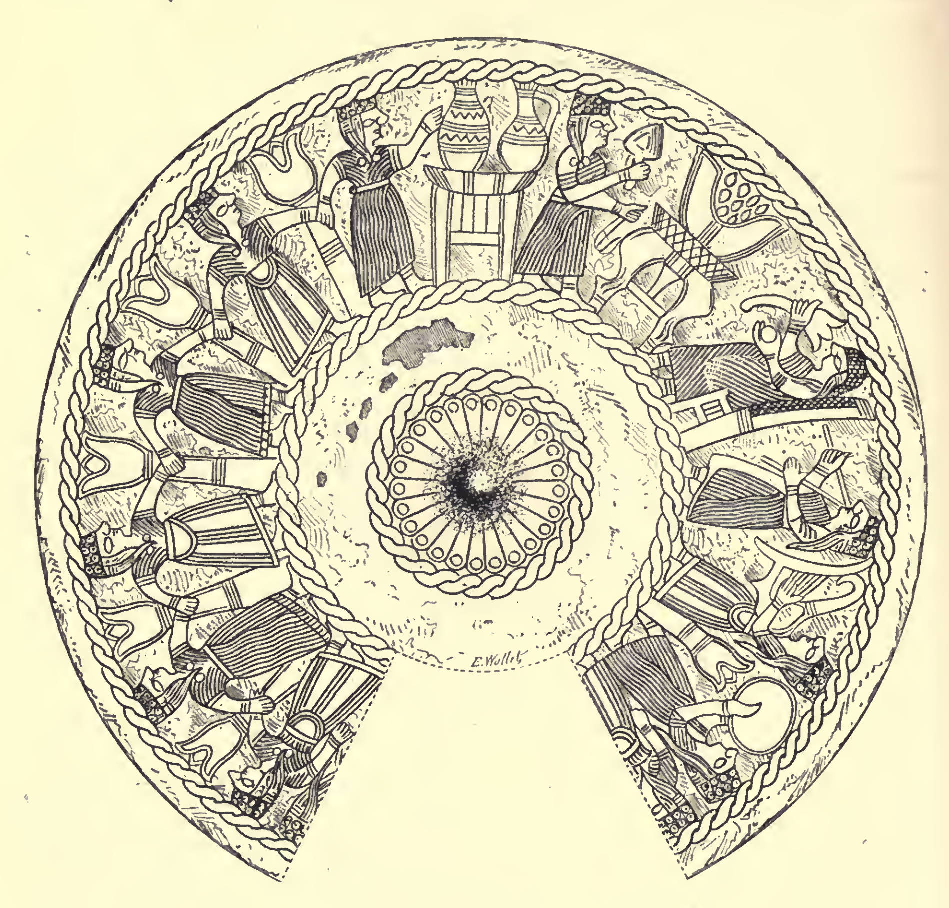


FIG. 206.—Patera from Dali. From Ceccaldi.[2]

other things of this material, which the Phœnicians carried to the western coasts of Africa.[3] Such things had then the same success

[1] One of the first conditions of success in this operation is the good quality of the material. I saw in M. Gréau's collection a stick of fine blue glass which came from Egypt, and is of the same tint as the finest Egyptian enamels. M. Gréau thinks, and his notion seems probable enough, that it once formed part of the materials of an enameller.

[2] *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, plate vii.

[3] SCYLAX, *Periplus*, § 112.

as the common glass beads exported to the same part of the world have with the tribes of modern Africa.

Such born traders as the Phœnicians must soon have determined to acclimatize a profitable industry like this in their own country. In studying their sculpture we have already recognized that certain figurines in enamelled earth appear to be the work of a Phœnician rather than of an Egyptian hand.[1] We may say the same of the scarabs found in the Sardinian graveyards,[2] and we now come to the same conclusion in the case of these vases. Of some, no doubt, it is difficult to guess the true *provenance*, of the bowl (Fig. 207) found by M. di Cesnola in a tomb at Dali [3] for instance. Its inside is covered with a green enamel, on which plumes of papyrus are made out in black; the figure as a whole is one often encountered in Egyptian art.



FIG. 207.—Bowl in Egyptian faïence.

Any doubt we may feel in presence of this example finds no counterpart when we turn to other specimens in which both material and process are the same, but where the mixed forms peculiar to Phœnician art are more conspicuous; such are those vases in which purely Egyptian motives are blended with others which betray a knowledge of Greek models on the part of the artist.

In the collections of the Louvre and British Museum there is a whole series of Greek aryballoi, to each of which the potter has given the fantastic shape of a head covered with a helmet.[4] Most

[1] See above, p. 5. [2] *Ibid.* p. 253.

[3] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 101.

[4] HEUZEY, *Sur un petit vase en forme de tête casquée portant une inscription hiéroglyphique* (*Gazette archéologique*, 1880, pp. 145-146, and plate xx.). See also *Figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, plate vii. fig. 2.

of them were found at Cameiros, in Rhodes.[1] Our Fig. 208 will show how these objects were shaped. The neck of the bottle took the place of the helmet's crest ; the nose-piece was left out, the cheek-pieces (παρειαί, παραγναθίδες) were lowered, while the presence of a kind of salient brow-piece (μέτωπον) formed a slight modification upon the original shape of such a casque. The oldest of these vases seem to date from the same period as the archaic vases with black figures heightened with purple, but the shape did not lose its vogue until very much later.[2]

If one motive should be considered more thoroughly Greek than another it is assuredly this imitation of the bronze helmet which was one of the items of the national military costume. And yet a little object belongs to the series which was certainly made neither in Greece nor by a Greek workman. It also is a small aryballos



FIG. 208.—Bottle in glazed earthenware. Louvre.[3]

in the form of a helmeted head, but it is not of the common clay ; it is made of the white, sandy earth glazed generally with blue, which is known as Egyptian faïence (Fig. 208).

" The enamel has now disappeared, an accident which is common enough away from the dry soil of Egypt, but a few touches of blue, as well as a little black and yellow on some of the details, may still be traced. These are chiefly on the eyeballs and eyebrows, and on the decoration of the helmet. Nearly all these latter details are moreover outlined with a point, skilfully handled. This part of

[1] Some of those in the Louvre formed part of the Campana collection ; it is by no means unlikely, therefore, that they were found either at Cære or in some other Etruscan cemetery.

[2] HEUZEY, *Sur un petit vase, &c.*, pp. 145-6.

[3] From HEUZEY, *Les figurines antiques du Louvre*, plate vii.

the work must have been done before the vitrifiable glaze was spread on the clay.

"The joints of the helmet are clearly marked by these incised lines; the movable cheek-pieces are each decorated with a rosette, which seems to be stamped rather than engraved; on the part covering the back of the neck there are vertical lines, which remind us rather of the plaits of an Egyptian klaft than of any style of ornament made use of by the Greeks. The band marking the crest is raised in front, somewhat after the same fashion as Pharaoh's asp; the nose-piece is rudimentary, and at the crown there is an ornament of leaves, deriving from the lotus. With the exception of these mainly decorative points the helmet is identical with a Greek *cranos* of bronze, of a form intermediary between the ancient casque, the *aulopis* of the painted aryballoi, and the helmet with salient vizor reproduced in the moulded vessels of the same kind.

"We have reserved to the last a detail of ornament which makes this little object one of our rarest and most precious documents for the history of antique art. Upon this Grecian helmet we find on each side of the skull, incised with the same sharp point as the rest of the decoration, a line of hieroglyphs, among which appears a royal oval between two seated griffins. In spite of its careless execution, this oval has been recognized by competent Egyptologists as that of Ouha-abra, a Saite prince and the Apriès of the Greeks, who reigned in Egypt at the commencement of the sixth century (from 599 to 569 B.C.). And this is not the only place where this same oval occurs on small vases of glazed earthenware. It is to be found twice repeated upon an aryballos of the ordinary shape now in the Louvre, which was found at Cameiros and published by Longpérier as a work of Egypto-Phœnician manufacture (plate 5; central figure at the top of the page). The object we are discussing is then all the more rare in that its date is fixed, for at least it cannot be earlier than 599.

"The place of its discovery is no less interesting. It was presented to the Louvre by an Athenian dealer in antiquities who said it came from Corinth. This merchant had no dealings with the East, and never suspected that the vase could be of Egyptian or Asiatic manufacture. It is therefore probable that it was found in Greece, and the once intimate relations between Corinth and the East are enough to explain its presence in that city.

"Before this strange object can be accounted for we have then to explain away the following difficulties: the vase reproduces a characteristic detail of Hellenic armour and belongs to a class all other known examples of which are Greek in origin; and yet its style is Egyptian and it bears an Egyptian inscription; again, it comes from Greece . . . . . no one looking at it could doubt that its style and inscription are Egyptian as a whole, but they are not, perhaps, quite pure. The engraving of the hieroglyphs lacks precision. The engraver seems to have copied them without thoroughly understanding their value. The same apparent indecision is to be encountered on a whole class of objects in ivory and metal which are generally looked upon as Phœnician imitations of the Egyptian style. The griffins facing each other and the rosettes on the cheek-pieces belong to Asia rather than to Egypt. Finally, the warrior's face, although with the elongated eyes, the thin, slightly arched nose and the thick lips of an Egyptian, has a rude and truculent expression very uncharacteristic of works from the Nile valley. All these considerations lead us to believe that this vase comes from a Phœnician workshop and is the work of some school or artist by whom the style of Egypt was very closely followed."[1]

We shall not stop to examine all the hypotheses that may present themselves when we attempt to arrive at the real character of this little monument and to explain the idea by which it was inspired, but perhaps the most likely explanation is as follows:—

"Both Egyptians and Orientals loved to represent the types and costumes of the foreign and even hostile races with which they came in contact. Heads of negroes and western Asiatics abound upon chairs, upon vases, upon the most varied utensils and even upon sandals. In the seventh and six centuries, at the time of the Saite kings, the expansion of Greece, in the shape of military and other adventurers, over the whole eastern Mediterranean, had assumed the proportions of a great historical movement, of a capital fact in the progress of antique civilization. It was no more than natural that Egypto-Phœnician arts should have reproduced these 'men of bronze' in the shape in which they terrified all the dwellers on those coasts. And it was by means of such soldiers

[1] HEUZEY, *Sur un petit vase*, pp. 147-151. We have reproduced the whole of this passage in spite of its length, because it is a model of criticism; it would be impossible to show more clearly how the pasticcios of Phœnicia are to be distinguished from the genuine works of Egypt or Asia. We may not thus arrive at absolute certainty, but at least we reach a high degree of probability.

of fortune that Africa conquered a part of Phœnicia and vanquished the Phœnician fleets. It is true that the head is not thoroughly Greek, but that may easily be accounted for by the difficulty of entirely assimilating a foreign type."[1]

Was this vase copied from ancient Greek aryballoi, or was it the model after which the vases of similar form found in Greece and Etruria were made? This is hardly the place to discuss that question, but we must observe, that although certain Corinthian aryballoi on which a helmeted head is painted seem older than our vase, on the other hand the latter is more ancient than those Greek aryballoi on which the same head is modelled in relief; we are therefore tempted to look upon it as the first of the series.[2]

However this might be, it was important to describe this little example at length and with great care, in order that any more which may be lurking in our museums might be recognized and brought to light. Unhappily it is only in Egypt that the original surface of such things remains intact, and sometimes we have to look very closely to distinguish any traces of enamel. After a minute examination M. Heuzey found signs of a green-glaze upon an aryballos from Cos which is modelled, not into the shape of an armed head, but of a Hercules.[3] Here too the original theme is Greek and the type of face Egyptian, while the technical qualities are Egypto-Phœnician.

Must we believe, as some have suggested, that the Greeks themselves made use of this process, that they had fabriques of glazed earthenware?[4] Apparently the only solid piece of evidence in favour of such an hypothesis is the existence, in the British Museum, of a small dolphin-shaped vase from Cameiros on the neck of which appears the following inscription engraved under a most delicate blue glaze:

ΠΥΘΕΩΕΜΙ.

"I belong to Pythes."

This little object, which is thoroughly Greek and very elegant in style and shape, is at present unique, and perhaps it is hardly

[1] M. HEUZEY examines the various conjectures which have been started *à propos* of this vase, and adopts the one here set forth.

[2] HEUZEY, *Sur un petit vase*, pp. 159-160.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 161-163, and plate xxviii. fig. 1. This vase is also reproduced in *Figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, plate vii. fig. 3.

[4] HEUZEY, *Sur un petit vase, &c.*, p. 150.

sufficient to support the deduction which has been drawn from it. The inscription seems to show that its proprietor attached peculiar importance to it, and we are therefore tempted to believe that it was looked upon as a rarity in its way, and to ask whether it may not owe its existence to the caprice of some Greek traveller visiting Egypt or Phœnicia? Charmed with the transparent brilliancy of the enamel which he saw glowing on the least important products of local industry, he may have commissioned the vase and supplied its design and inscription; he may have had the whole thing carried out under his own eyes by one of those oriental workmen whose dexterity is always a marvel to travellers.

Whatever the value of our hypothesis may be, we have serious reasons for thinking that Greece never adopted this industry. The excavations at Cameiros have enriched the Louvre and the British Museum with a large number of objects in glazed earthenware; in our Plate V. a few specimens from the Louvre are reproduced. Some little vases of the same kind have been found in Egypt, in Etruria, and at Athens.[1] By comparing them all we can arrange a series in which nothing but motives familiar to oriental art are to be encountered.

Take for example the two alabastrons which occupy the right and left extremities of the plate.[2] The glaze is a light blue turned greenish by time. The field is divided horizontally by several yellow bands, and the same colour is used to heighten certain details of the execution. The figures are traced with the point, the hollow lines being afterwards filled in with a dark tint. These figures are animals walking and crouching, lions, bulls, and antelopes, and trees. In form these bottles resemble one found at Nimroud with the figure of a lion and Sargon's name upon it;[3] the row of animals mingled with trees reminds us of the reliefs on the obelisk of Shalmanasar III. and on the bronze cups found at Nimroud.[4] The leaves at the bottom are like those of the lotus.

The vase shown back and front in the middle of the plate has a flat bottom.[5] Its glaze is paler than that of the other two, and its decoration is divided into three zones by incised lines. The upper

[1] DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, letterpress to plate xlix.
[2] The one on the left is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, the one on the right $4\frac{1}{10}$.
[3] LAYARD, *Discoveries, &c.*, p. 197.
[4] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 49, 217, 218, 225.
[5] Its height is two inches.

zone consists of petals radiating from the neck, the second of the royal ovals of Apries crowned with feathers and flanked by a hawk, an uræus, and a papyrus plant. The lowest zone is decorated with the knop and flower ornament. The whole of this decoration is cut into the paste. The mouth, which is broken, is surrounded by a circle of oves and a palmette in strong relief appears at the bottom of the handle.

The duplication of the *cartouche*, the absence of royal titles, the very shape of the figures we have just enumerated, all help to discourage any notion that this little vase is really of Egyptian origin, but the whole of its ornament is taken from that country, and we can see in it nothing but a Phœnician work of about the end of the sixth century B.C.

The same characteristics are to be found in some other vases at the Louvre, where they are exhibited in the same cases as the objects found by Salzmann at Cameiros.[1] On one, shaped like a flattened globe, we find a crouching personage with outstretched arms and wings. It is a by no means accurate representation of Khou, a goddess who often occurs on sarcophagi. On the reverse there is a disk-crowned lion's head, perhaps a souvenir of the goddess Pasht. Upon a small œnochoé we find two flying birds traced with the point; they look like an enlarged copy of the figure which represents the sound of *p* in the Egyptian phonetic alphabet. Another œnochoé has no ornaments but some Assyrian rosettes. Finally, a small vase shaped like a woman's head should be mentioned; the elongated eyes and the method of dressing the hair are both Egyptian. The simplest type of all is that of a spherical alabastron with a blue glaze, where the neck is encircled at its base with radiating leaves. There is another rosette on the bottom, and the whole body is divided into three horizontal zones which are cut up in their turn by vertical grooves.

Similarity of process allows us to connect with this series a group of very peculiar vases which as yet have only been found at Cameiros; we give three examples in our Plate VI. Having no handles, they come into the alabastron class; some are flat bottomed, others pointed; they have been compared to some figured at Nineveh and in those Egyptian paintings which represent the Khetas, or inhabitants of Syria, carrying tribute to Thothmes III.

[1] DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.* plate xlix. We have borrowed the description just given from the letterpress to this plate.

in vases.[1] These vases are distinguished from those already mentioned by the simplicity of their ornament. No more figures of men, of animals, or even of vegetables ; no more leaves, rosettes, or even engraved lines. The ground consists of a green glaze forming a strong contrast with a horizontal band of white, over which brown spots and chevrons are sprinkled. In some cases the whole body of the vase is divided into four parts by bands of white and lines of brown.[2]

Some vases sent from India to the Paris Exhibition of 1867 had exactly the same enamel and general appearance as these bottles from Cameiros, and although the latter were all found in an island where Greek art was developed at a very early date, we can have no hesitation in recognizing in them the spirit and tradition of oriental art ; their makers relied entirely upon the beauty of their glaze to make them attractive ; neither their forms nor the design of their ornaments seems to have excited a moment's thought ; brilliant and harmonious colour once obtained, the workman was content.

As for the age to be assigned to these vases, on which the decoration is all on the flat, it is not, we think, greater than that of specimens betraying a full knowledge of Egyptian forms and an endeavour to imitate them ; both kinds were, indeed, encountered in the same tombs at Cameiros. The earthenware with a green glaze and a decoration of brown and white chevrons was in fact what a modern tradesman would call a special line ; it had its day, and then, like other things requiring no great skill or taste on the part of their makers, it disappeared.

We have laid all these glazed earthenware vases to the account of Phœnicia, but none of them were actually found in Syria, or even in Cyprus. Both process and materials are the same as in those vases in which an Egypto-Phœnician character is most strongly marked, while we have not the slightest reason to suppose that the Greeks ever set themselves to manufacture vessels of glazed faïence. From the very commencement Greek ceramists were animated by a spirit quite distinct from that shown by easterns ; the latter were, as they are still, pre-occupied with colour, while the Hellenic potters sought for nobility of form and tried to devise something that should touch the mind.

[1] DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoleon III.*, letterpress to plate l.

[2] The principal varieties of this type are brought together in plates l. and li. of the *Musée Napoleon III.*

We have now visited all the coasts of the Mediterranean in our search for the remains of Phœnician pottery, and it cannot be denied that the harvest is small. Two facts, however, have been ascertained: in the first place, the Phœnicians learnt the Egyptian secret of enamelled pottery; in the second, profiting perhaps by examples imported from Mesopotamia, they inaugurated a manufacture which was never developed in Egypt, namely, that of painted pottery, in which all the decoration was laid on the surface of the clay with a brush.

This last-named industry is only known to us in a very small number of examples which can be ascribed to Syria with any certainty; so far as we can guess from these, the painted vessels were less esteemed than those covered with a vitrified glaze, and the potters by whom they were decorated were therefore content with geometrical lines. We shall find a very different state of affairs in Cyprus, whose ceramic wealth offers a very startling contrast to the poverty of Phœnicia. For in spite of its close connection with Tyre and Sidon, Cyprus was not Phœnicia. No doubt many of the vases found in the graveyards of Kition, Idalion, Golgos and Amathos, may have been the work of Phœnician potters, but the mixture of two races, the Semite and the Greek, seems, as in sculpture, to have given birth to a new art, an art of greater scope in some respect than that of Phœnicia proper, an art in which we can trace a first sketch, as it were, of the qualities by which Greek art was to be so profoundly divided from that of Egypt and Asia.

§ 2.—*Ceramics in Cyprus.*

Cyprus is rich in plastic earth; this is proved by the countless terra-cotta figures found in the tombs. Even now the Cypriot potters send goods to all the ports of Syria and Asia Minor. Some of their models are less elegant and less decorative than they used to be, but others, and especially those of very large size, have changed but little in the course of three thousand years.[1]

[1] G. COLONNA CECCALDI, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, p. 270. We take this piece of information, together with many others, from the materials for a study on the *Céramique de Chypre*, left unfinished by its author. We have also made liberal use of MR. A. S. MURRAY's Appendix to Cesnola's *Cyprus*, entitled, *On the Pottery of Cyprus* (pp. 392-412).

The oldest and most primitive examples that have come down to us are the vessels found in considerable quantities in the tombs of Alambra, near Dali. Some are of a black earth like that of which those Chiusi vessels called by the Italians *di bucchero nero* are composed; in others the material is similar to that of the bowls of Turkish pipes; both, but especially the red, are susceptible of a high polish. Decorations are not painted but incised (Fig. 209).

Nowadays these hollow lines are full of a white powder which makes them stand out conspicuously from the ground. Some archæologists have thought they offered the same appearance in antiquity; but, in fact, the white in question may be easily removed by a dry brush, and is nothing more than a deposit from the calcareous soil in which the vessels had lain so long.



FIG. 209.—Bottle with incised ornament. From Cesnola.[1]

Although we may look upon this decoration as the oldest employed in the island, it does not follow that all the objects on which it is found date from the beginning of the industry. The bottle above figured is no clumsy object. The fine contour of the body, the shape of the neck, the solid attachment of the handle, all afford evidence of great skill. Decoration with the point was thus made use of long after the manufacture had grown out of its first infancy; it is by reflection and comparison that we are brought to the conclusion that it was older than painted ornament. It was much easier than the latter. In a whole series of ancient ceramic objects, that from Hissarlik in the Troad, we find scarcely a trace of colour. Both in Cyprus and at Hissarlik the

[1] *Cyprus*, p. 408.



Saint Elme Gautier del.

Imp. Draeger

DECORATION [illegible]

In the collection of M. Eugène [illegible]



first attempts were made with the point; in the former case other methods were added as time went on, but incised decoration was never completely superseded.

Beside the vases belonging to this latter class the cemetery of Alambra yielded another series, on which the decoration was carried out by the application of a dark brown, nearly black, earth upon a bright red clay, like that of a modern flower-pot.[1] The designs are purely geometrical (Fig. 210).

This vessel, too, has a handle, in the making and fixing of which some proficiency is betrayed. It took time to learn how to model and attach a handle. The potter began by leaving bosses of clay either at the insertion of the neck or at other points on the body, and piercing them to receive a reed or string by which the vessel could be hung up to a nail. The bottle, no doubt from Alambra, reproduced in our Fig. 211 was thus

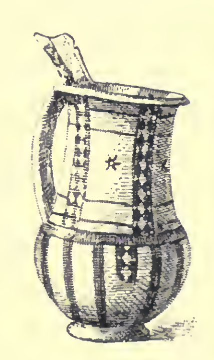


FIG. 210.—Jug with painted decoration. From Cesnola.[2]

suspended. It shows the more ancient style of geometrical ornament in perfection. Upon another example (Fig. 212), the handle is shown in its infancy; no hand could grasp it; it is but a ring for a cord. In this as in all other very ancient specimens of Cypriot pottery, the walls are very thick.

One of the strange things about the oldest kind of Cypriot earthenware is its often complicated and fantastic shape. Some vases have two necks (Fig. 213) to one body, while others (Fig. 214) have several bodies to one neck. In another example (Fig. 215) the long neck has a large hole contrived on one side of it for the introduction of liquids. When this bottle was used to

[1] This brown earth is still the object of a considerable trade in Cyprus; it is called *terra d'ombra* in the Lingua Franca.

[2] *Cyprus*, p. 408.

drink out of, the small extremity of the neck was grasped between the lips and the body inclined as much as necessary, care being taken to keep the large hole upwards.



FIG. 211.—Bottle in the Feuardent collection.

We find the same arrangement in a very small vessel of more eccentric form (Fig. 216). Like the two already figured it has a handle, without which, indeed, it could hardly be conveniently



FIG. 212.—Bottle in the Feuardent collection.

used, but nevertheless its body is surrounded by bosses pierced for strings. It is clear that in time these bosses, which were at first purely utilitarian, came to be used as ornaments. The potter

combined them with geometrical figures and sometimes produced a result which is not unattractive. A *chef-d'œuvre* of the class is here reproduced (Fig. 217). The body is formed of a horizontal cylinder bent into a hoop, the liquid being introduced through a lateral orifice in the neck. The cylinder stands upon three feet, and is surmounted by a convenient handle. The result is perhaps a little barbarous, but it is not unpleasant on the whole, while it betrays an art to which neither ambition nor refinement are strangers.



FIG. 213.—Bottle with double neck. Feuardent collection.

Side by side with these vessels others have been found on which all ornament is carried out in paint, but even there we find shapes recalling those we have been studying. Such, for instance, is the quaint bottle here reproduced (Fig. 218). The surface is smooth, but the memory of an older fashion survives in the suspension holes inserted at the base of the neck; the latter is very short, and so arranged as to be easy to drink from. We are thus carried on to more simple forms until we come to a jug entirely

without ornament, but with a lip so skilfully modelled as to show the rapid progress of the industry.

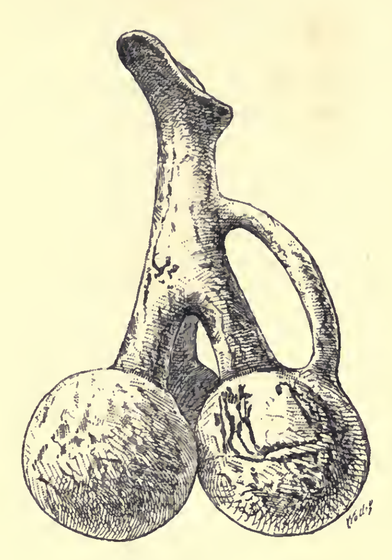


FIG. 214.—Bottle with triple body. Feuardent collection.

Among types peculiar to Cyprus we may also name those barrel- or egg-shaped bottles with short thick necks which appear in every Cypriot collection (Fig. 220). They are not, perhaps,

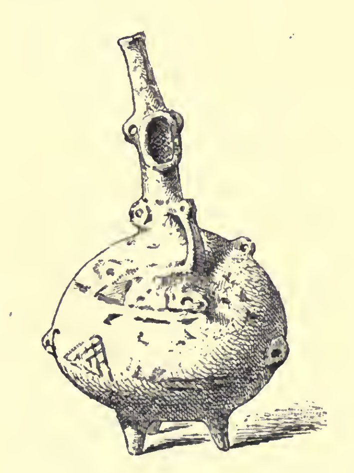


FIG. 215.—Bottle with lateral mouth. Feuardent collection.

models of grace, but their execution bears witness to great dexterity on the part of their makers; no slight address was required to "throw" such things truly and to make one side

balance the other. They must have been made in two pieces; I had an opportunity of examining a bottle of the kind in the



FIG. 216.—Bottle in the Piot collection.

British Museum, and the line of junction round the centre of its body could be clearly followed.

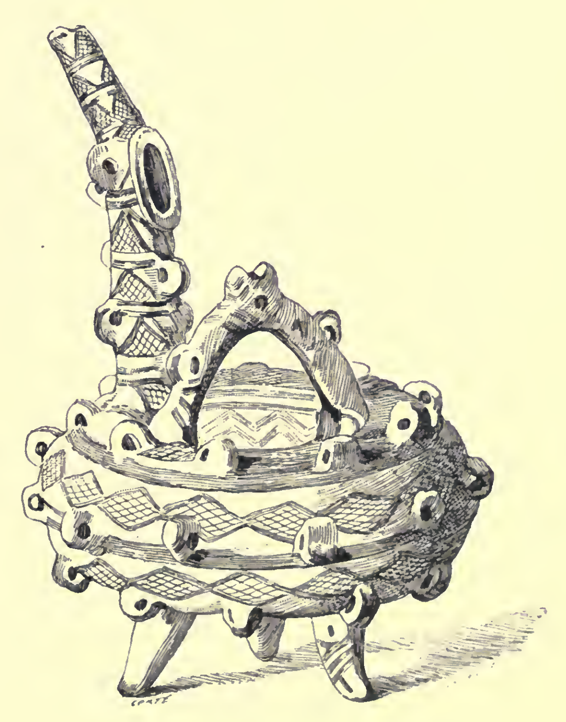


FIG. 217.—Vase in the Piot collection.

Another shape scarcely known out of Cyprus is the gourd form of bottle, which may have been suggested to the potter by some of those calabashes which are to be found in nearly all hot

countries. Some flagons turned on this model are among the best established and most original of Cypriot industrial products (Fig. 221). A carefully modelled neck and handle are inserted



FIG. 218.—Bottle in the Piot collection.

into a body which is not without grace in spite of the large circle it describes. In the example here figured we may see an ornamental motive which has never been met with, so far as I know, outside of Cyprus; I mean those large concentric circles described



FIG. 219.—Œnochoé in the Piot collection.

on the sides of the bottle and parallel to its major axis. In the great majority of cases when people have made use of rings to decorate their pottery, those rings have been horizontal, and so

arranged as to have a subtle but satisfactory analogy to the belts and girdles worn by man- and woman-kind. Here we find our ideas as it were upset by vertical bands, which represent nothing and suggest nothing but their own insecurity. Such a mistake would never have been committed by a Greek potter.

We must not forget to mention another series of vessels which bear witness to the taste for strange and complex forms already alluded to; I mean those in which the shape of this or that animal is more or less roughly imitated. Sometimes the resemblance is very distant; the potter has contented himself with



FIG. 220.—Oval bottle. From Cesnola.[1]

giving his production four legs, a rounded body, a tail which acts as neck and mouth, and a fanciful head with hints at horns and ears (Fig. 222). We know well enough that he has meant to suggest a quadruped, but we cannot guess what particular animal he may have been thinking of. The decoration is merely a hatching of red on a very light ground. In Fig. 223 we find a composite animal, the head and body of a bull with the neck and beak of a large bird for its tail. We repeat the head and chest of this animal on a larger scale to show the details of its decoration (Fig.

[1] *Cyprus*, p. 405.

224). It will be noticed that the execution is very primitive. Round the eyes and on the feet the ornament is incised, not painted. Natural forms are imitated with much greater precision in the vessel reproduced in Fig. 225. This is shaped like a goat, and modelled with no slight certainty and skill. The hair and other details are incised with the point ; from the animal's chest a horizontal neck protrudes. Finally we may notice an example in which the handling is still freer, though rather more empty (Fig. 226). Here the workman seems to have had in his mind an animal with which he had never made acquaintance in life, but which he may have seen more or less inaccurately figured on certain oriental monuments ;[1] I mean the rhinoceros.



FIG. 221.—Bottle in the form of a gourd. Feuardent collection.

These strange forms imply the existence of a certain activity of intellect and spirit of enterprise in their maker, but they are scarcely in perfect taste. The use of such vessels is too much obscured ; the eye cannot see at a glance, as it ought, the connection between their forms and their purposes. To be really fine, this latter condition must be fulfilled no less by the humblest vessel from the potter's wheel than by the most ambitious creation of the architect.

A happier and more fertile idea was that which called in the human form. As with us, vases were commonly taller than their

[1] See *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Chapter II. § 4.

width; they had a head and a mouth, a neck and a body; they had arms and they might have feet. Such resemblances dispose us to follow with interest the attempts of the artist to suggest the forms of man and still more of woman, in the shapes of his vases. The female form is rounder and more sinuous in its lines than the male, while its ample *chevelure* and extraneous adornments in the shape of earrings, necklaces and so on, make it peculiarly well fitted to the purposes of the ceramist.

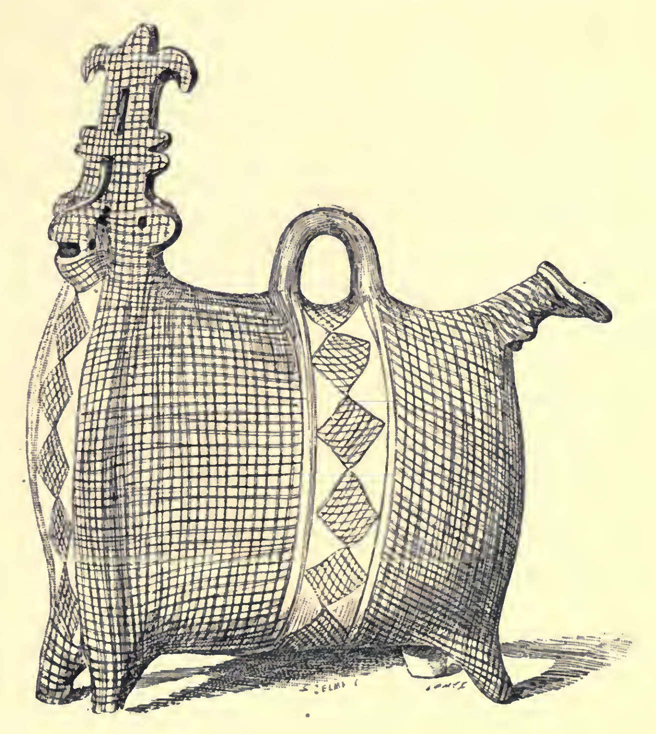


FIG. 222.—Vessel in the form of a quadruped.

The series opens with examples in which the idea is no more than hinted at; of such is a rude amphora on which the potter has given a coarse representation of the human face by means of a few daubs of colour and a dab of clay (Fig. 227). There is no indication of sex; the whole thing is as simple and abstract as possible. In a vase chosen for reproduction on account of its fine preservation and the originality of its shape, a great advance has been made (Plate IV). Here the neck of the vase is a woman's head. The face, modelled as carefully as that of a terra-cotta figurine, is surrounded by carefully arranged masses of hair, from which long curls hang down

upon the shoulders. The forehead is crowned with a diadem surmounted by open flowers. The neck is encircled by a necklace with a pendant, and lower down two slight protuberances suggest the female breasts. The modelling of the face is summary and rude, but the work as a whole is not without distinction. The conventional flower which hangs down from the throat between the breasts is elegant and the whole decoration of the upper part of the vase both happily conceived and executed with considerable care. The vase has a lateral spout which helps to mark its real use.

The vessel we have just described belongs, apparently, to an early period in the development of this industry, but the type never seems to have lost its vogue. We find it repeated in an example where

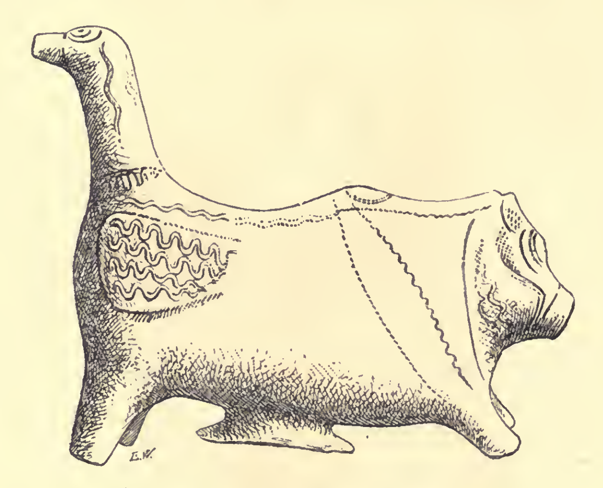


FIG. 223.—Composite vessel. Side view.[1]

the style of the head is thoroughly imbued with Greek taste (Fig. 228). The breasts are no longer suggested; the spout is placed beneath the head in a line with the face; it is very large and ungraceful. The older of the two workmen was the better inspired, his deficient power of design notwithstanding.

In both these jugs the human head is no more than an accessory, an adventitious ornament. On the other hand, there are many small aryballoi in which the head is almost the whole thing, making them works of sculpture rather than of pottery (Fig. 208). The potter, indeed, has done nothing but fix the neck, which is restored in our Fig. 229 from the analogy of specimens in which it is intact. This little head of Herakles is the work of no unskilful

[1] From the *Catalogue Barre*, p. 4. Height $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; length $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

hand. In its combination of strength and refinement with a rather dry precision it reminds us of Greek art at the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth. We have already shown by numerous examples how popular Herakles was in Cyprus, so that we can feel no surprise at finding his head thus used for a vase, or, to be more accurate, for one of those hollow statuettes in which perfumes were kept.

On an œnochoé from Curium (Fig. 230), we find a complex notion of a different kind managed with no less skill. A small

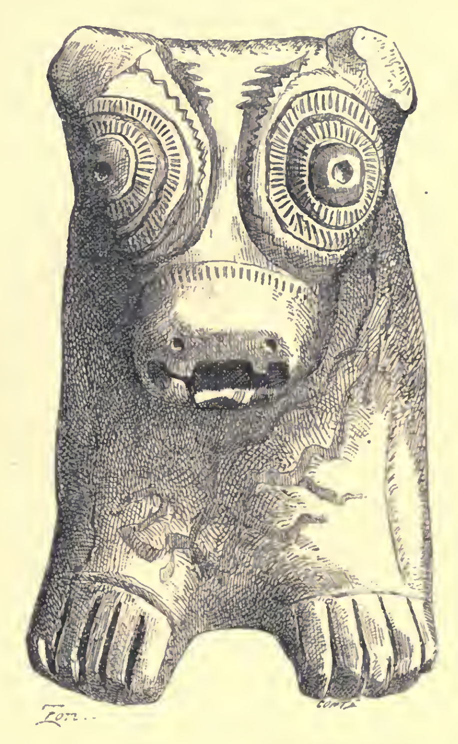


FIG. 224.—Front view of the same vessel.

female figure is seated where neck and body meet, on what we may call the shoulder of the vessel. She is exactly opposite to the handle; in her right hand she holds a small jug which is inclined as if to pour the liquid contained in the œnochoé. The motive is ingenious—perhaps too ingenious. A salient figure like this would not be out of place on a metal vase, but here it is too much exposed to accident, while, seeing what its material is, the least shock would be fatal.

We see, then, that down to the time when this vase, which is

comparatively modern, was made, the love for novelty, pushed even to affectation, of which we have already spoken, had not died away. As in the vessels covered with bosses pierced for strings, and in those modelled into the shapes of animals, an effort which not seldom overleaps itself may be recognized.

If these Cypriot potters had been left to themselves, they would have tried, no doubt, like those of Thera and Mycenæ, to utilize the national flora for the decoration of their works. But in Cyprus I can find nothing corresponding to this stage of art elsewhere. When geometrical forms, like those encountered at



FIG. 225.—Vessel in shape of a goat.[1]

Alambra, ceased to be sufficient; when a taste arose for ornament into which living things could be introduced, the native potter turned, unhappily for himself, to models imported from without instead of to nature. Upon objects brought in from Egypt he found the lotus bud and flower universal, upon those sent by Asia he saw six-and eight-pointed rosettes as well as sinuous palmettes and those complex flourishes of which Assyria seems to have been so fond. And all these were used together on the composite creations of Phœnician industry. The temptation was too hard

[1] From the *Catalogue Barre.* Height 6 inches; length 6¾ inches.



Saint Elme Gautier del.

CYPR[illegible] [illegible]ASE

[illegible]



to be resisted. How could they be expected to attack nature, and to face all the uncertainties such an attack involved, when they



FIG. 226.—Vessel in shape of a rhinoceros. Feuardent collection.

had the results achieved by those who had already overcome those uncertainties to borrow from. The forms perfected by the Asiatics and Egyptians before them were known and accredited, and the



FIG. 227.—Amphora. From Cesnola.[1]

Cypriot potter repeated them slavishly, so far at least as the vegetable world was concerned.

[1] *Cyprus*, p. 402.

Look, for instance, at this elaborate vase from a tomb at Ormidia (Fig. 231).[1]

The decoration is partly geometrical, partly composed of vegetable forms. The neck is covered with lozenges of various sizes, with rosettes, and with vertical bands dividing it into panels. The body of the vessel is surrounded by several horizontal belts, among which appears the knop-and-flower garland.

The same mixture of linear ornament with vegetable forms occurs on another vase, a sort of bowl or crater (Fig. 232). We have reproduced its chief motive in colour, so as to give a clear idea of the tints used by the Cypriot potter (Plate III., Fig. 1). The motive in question is a wide belt of ornament, divided



FIG. 228.—Woman-headed vase. From Cesnola.[2]

vertically, like so many Egyptian friezes, into several compartments; each compartment incloses a lotus flower.

The same flower, still more conventionalized, affords a centre for the fanciful motive in the decoration of a cup in the Albert Barre Collection (Fig. 233). A white rosette is pinned like a "favour" on to the base of the calix, which rises from two large spirals like those of the sacred tree of Assyria.

Here, too, we come upon a new element; on either side of the flower appears an aquatic bird, either swan, goose, or duck. These

[1] For an account of the cemetery near this village and of the vases found in it, see CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 181, and FR. LENORMANT, *Gazette archéologique*, 1883, p. 97.

[2] *Cyprus*, plate xlii.

web-footed birds play a great part in the ceramics of Cyprus, and we shall see them reappear in the early pottery of Greece. When the potter had exhausted the combinations of geometry, he must have called in these birds to help out his ideas because they were common in the island; the country was not very densely peopled, so that in the marshes and on the sea-coast they had plenty of room in which to feed and bring up their young. They offered, too, a peculiar advantage to the potter; he could make use of them without greatly changing his methods. His hand was accustomed to trace all kinds of curves and circles, and to suggest



FIG. 229.—Aryballos. Actual size. Piot Collection.

the body of such a bird it was enough to draw a circle (Fig. 234), or an oval (Fig. 235), a few simple curves gave the neck and feet, and the pencil once started often prolonged the toes into thin wavy lines (Fig. 235); the wings, sometimes open (Fig. 233), sometimes folded (Figs. 234 and 235), were accentuated by differences of colour and by dark bounding lines. Sometimes, but more rarely, we encounter long-legged birds (Fig. 236). Now and then we catch the artist as it were between two stools, between the linear decoration he is abandoning and the figures he has not yet frankly adopted. On a small jug from Ormidia we see a vertical band of

chequers together with some rosettes and wavy crosses, side by side with a large bird.

In consequence of the ease with which they could be drawn, birds were perhaps the first things copied on earthenware. On one of the vases here reproduced we see a fish keeping company with the aquatic bird (Fig. 234), and the ice once broken the Cypriot potter soon began to try his hand on other animals. On a large



FIG. 230.—Vase from Curium. Height 13¾ inches. Metropolitan Museum of New York.

two-handled vase from Curium we find the horse introduced (Fig. 238). This elaborate vase is quite unique in its own way in Cyprus. It so strongly resembles certain very ancient Attic vases in form, in the design of its ornament, and in its physiognomy as a whole, that doubts of its Cypriot origin inevitably arise. However this may be, its great interest is undeniable. It may be considered as offering one of the very best examples of the finest geometrical decoration. Nearly all the motives which make up that style are employed

upon it, and employed with taste and discretion. The design as a whole is of extreme finesse. All details made up of straight lines and curves are carried out with quite remarkable precision. The contrast between the upper and lower parts of the vase is happily conceived. The ornament on the lower half is comparatively sober ; it is entirely made up of horizontal scrolls separated by bands of plain surface. The upper half, on the other hand, is entirely covered with ornament. It is divided into panels, some of which



FIG. 231.—The Ormidia vase. Metropolitan Museum of New York. Height 28¼ inches.

are filled with checks and with eight-pointed rosettes, while others, round the widest part of the body, contain groups made up of a quadruped with a bird between its legs. These quadrupeds are very ill drawn. At first sight they look like giraffes, but the Cypriot artisans can never even have heard of such a beast. Examined in the light of other vases of the same kind, in which the representation is a little less imperfect, we recognize them as horses ; and if we look at them with some attention we see that, at

least in those that graze, the attitude of that quadruped is not ill-grasped on the whole. Our first embarrassment is mainly caused by the artist's desire to enhance the grace of his picture by



FIG. 232.—Bowl in the Piot Collection. Height 6¾ inches.

exaggerating the length of his horses' legs, and the slenderness of their bodies. Art in its early shapes affords many examples of such deliberate deformities ; and they occur most frequently among

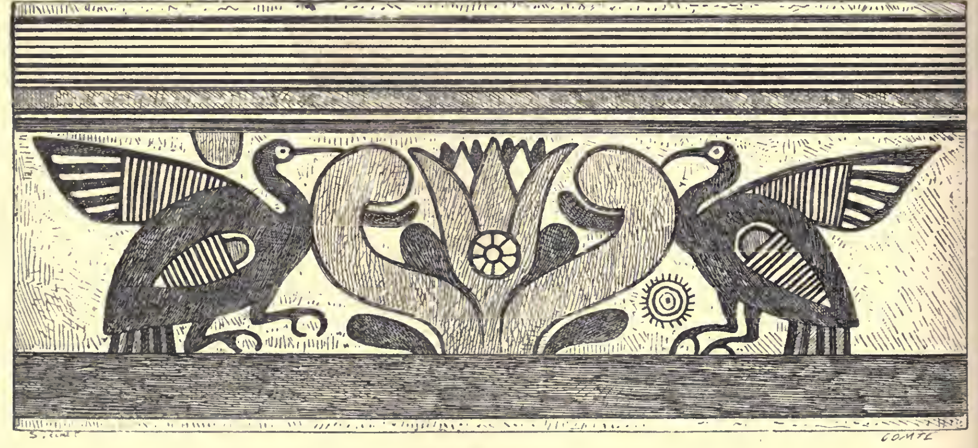


FIG. 233.—Detail of decoration from a cup.[1]

the more gifted races, betraying a secret instinct for beauty which leads the artist, when fully developed and educated, to choose beautiful forms and render them faithfully.

[1] Albert Barre Collection; from the *Catalogue*, plate 7.

In the Cypriot workshops they soon learnt to produce something better than these conventional horses. On a jug found in the



FIG. 234.—Vase from Ormidia. New York Museum.

graveyard of Ormidia a bridled horse is introduced with much greater truth to nature (Fig. 239). On a vase from Curium



FIG. 235.—Œnochoé in the Piot Collection. Height 8 inches.

(tail-piece to Chapter III.) it is a goat, and on another in the Piot Collection (Plate III., Fig. 2) it is a dog, on which the

decorator has expended his skill. The dog's coat is dark in colour, with a white head and white spots; its form has been studied from nature, but it is ungraceful and heavy. Birds, running stags, bulls, goats, and heifers form a double frieze round a large amphora figured by Cesnola (Fig. 240).



FIG. 236.—Amphora.[1]

The imitation of Oriental art may be traced on this vase, in the lotus flowers by which the smaller frieze is divided into compartments. We shall find lotus and papyrus employed in the same fashion on metal cups. In the series we are now studying



FIG. 237.—Œnochoé. New York Museum.

Oriental influence is betrayed by other things than this. When the Cypriot artist wished to introduce animals into his work, he looked at those about him and reproduced them sometimes with considerable success. But whenever he wished to make use of

[1] From CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 512.

the fantastic element he turned to Asia for inspiration: but only for inspiration—he did not make slavish copies.



FIG. 238.—Amphora from Curium. From Cesnola, *Cyprus*.

The winged horse for instance, the prototype of the Greek Pegasus, has already been met with in Assyria (Fig. 241).[1] The

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Fig. 89.

idea is the same, and, what is still more significant, the action of head and neck are identical, but here the head is far less skilfully drawn, while the body is over-charged by the ornaments plastered upon it. Our imagination is ready to credit the Assyrian Pegasus



Fig. 239.—Vase from Ormidia. New York Museum.

with life; it is not real, but it looks possible. We cannot say as much of the composite beast of Cyprus.

A cartouch or label between two rosettes was a favourite motive with the Cypriot decorator. We find it repeated on a vase which shows on its principal face two quadrupeds rampant on either side of a structure to which it is hard to give any name (Fig. 242). Should we call it a column, a stele, or a palmette?

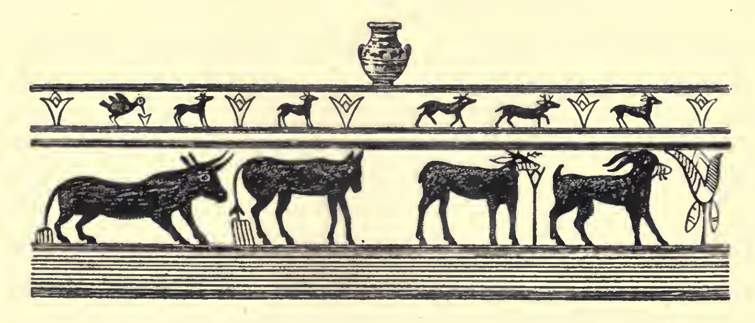


Fig. 240.—Double frieze of animals. From Cesnola.

It is composed of a rapidly tapering shaft crowned by large falling volutes, above which again appears the triangle between reversed volutes we have noticed so often on the limestone steles (see Vol. I., Figs. 52 and 53). Side by side with these things

appear the leaves and flourishes peculiar to the palmette. The animals are nearly as hard to define as the ornament between



FIG. 241.—Winged horse on a vase in the New York Museum.

them. If they are not bulls, we cannot tell what they are. The fact is the whole thing is a pasticcio, and a clumsy one, upon that



FIG. 242.—Vase from Citium.[1]

favourite motive of the Assyrian decorator, a sacred tree between two rampant quadrupeds. In Chaldæa, in Assyria, even in

[1] From CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 55.

Phœnicia, the motive is better made out; the bulls, lions, or sphinxes are naturally posed and always have a certain vitality and correctness of form. On the other hand, it would be difficult to conceive anything more heavy and ungainly than these nondescript beasts, who seem about to crush the complex symbol which stands between them. The Cypriot artisan has completely failed to understand the conditions upon which success in such a matter depends: he has ruined his borrowed theme by the ill-advised changes introduced into it.

We may say as much of another type borrowed from Egypt and Assyria, namely, that of a human-headed bird.[1] We have found it repeated in the lapidary sculpture of Cyprus (Fig. 134), and here it crops up on a vase (Fig 243). But it is thoroughly



FIG. 243.—Winged and human-headed quadruped.[2]

transfigured: the human head is still there and the bird's body and wings, but the motive is complicated by the addition of four short legs, like those of a pig. The *ensemble* thus composed is singularly ungraceful. The corresponding creature of Egypt was by no means unpleasing, while it answered to an idea which could be readily understood. By it the Egyptian artist attempted to mark that the soul when freed from the body became something lighter and more mobile than the lightest, most mobile, of living things; he gave his bird a human face in order

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 38; *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 91 and 207.

[2] From a vase in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

that no mistake as to its religious and symbolic character should be possible.

From geometrical forms the ceramic decorator advanced to the treatment of animals, and from them again he progressed to humanity. How long it took him to conceive this ambition, and to put his conception in practice, we cannot say; all that we can tell with any certainty is that the human figure appears upon vases which belong to the very oldest products of this industry. Here, for instance, is a spherical jug, on which those horizontal bands and vertical circles which the potters of the ancient school represented by the objects from Alambra lavished on their works



FIG. 244.—Œnochoé. From Cesnola.[1]

(Fig. 244). These designs occupy the major part of the surface, but between them and under the lip of the spout, room is found for a standing human figure, whose left hand seems to be raised in adoration, while the right clasps a stem of lotus. The execution is very clumsy, and various details show that the motive was not taken directly from nature, but was copied from some work of foreign origin. The lotus stem suggests Egypt; the same country appears in the drawers or loin-cloth, a garment which seems never to have been worn in Cyprus. Between the

[1] *Cyprus*, plate xlii.

feet of the figure appears a fragment of that cable ornament of which Assyria was so fond.[1] The painter must have taken his figure and its accessories from some object of glazed earthenware or metal, which in itself cannot have been original.

Upon most of these vases the figures are purely conventional. Mingled with birds, flowers, and leaves of uncertain species, they are nothing more than decorations. This is clearly shown by the œnochoé here figured (Fig. 245), which is very fine in its way. A person of uncertain sex stands between a swan and a large lotus flower crowning a stem from which smaller birds and blooms



FIG. 245.—Œnochoé. New York Museum.

shoot out below.[2] We know where these vegetable forms came from, and Egypt is also suggested by the costume of the figure,

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. Figs. 126 and 137, and Vol. II. Plates XIII. and XIV.

[2] We do not believe that the decorator of this vase had any thought of Leda and her swan. None of the authentic Cypriot vases bear illustrations of Greek mythology, and moreover, the general character of the decoration is here identical with that of many more things of the same class. On a vase from Citium, where the execution of the ornament as a whole does not sensibly differ from what we see here, a stag occupies the place filled by a human figure on this œnochoé.

especially by the vertical band in front which divides the skirt into two.

In the same group we may include one of those vessels in which the neck is modelled into the shape of a human head (Fig. 246). If we looked only at the modelling, we should refer this vase to the same period as the one we have reproduced in colour (Plate IV.), but the latter has nothing but geometrical ornament on its body, while elements so varied are introduced on the one now figured that we are inclined to give it a later date. It is



FIG. 246.—Vase with head in relief. From Cesnola.

slightly oval in form. Its decoration consists of several concentric and vertical rings of ornament on each side, while between them, and beneath the crowning head, appears a curious picture. Here we see, between two roughly indicated shrubs, a standing individual with long hair hanging down upon his back. He wears a large necklace, and an ample robe falling to his feet; the latter is adorned in front by embroidery in the shape of a Greek *fret* or *meander*. In his left hand, which is raised in the gesture of worship

so often encountered in monuments of oriental piety, he holds a widely opened flower. Here, as in the last example, the outline of the whole is not bad, but the painter's real inexperience is betrayed by the barbarity of the head, and especially by a nose exaggerated into a snout.



FIG. 247.—Vase from Ormidia. Height when whole, about 48 inches. New York Museum.

The same strange awkwardness may be noticed in a very large vase from Ormidia, which must certainly be looked upon as one of the most precious relics of Cypriot art (Fig. 247).[1] The geo-

[1] This vase was found broken into a great number of fragments, and, in spite of the skill brought to the task, only the neck and upper part of the body could be

metrical decoration on the neck and a part of the body is no less complete and no less carefully composed than on the Curium vase (Fig. 238), while it has more freedom and variety. Motives are introduced which are absent from earlier examples of the style, such as the cable and the eight-leaved rosette. From this point of view, therefore, the vase is of very high interest, but its value is still more enhanced by the frieze encircling it at the handles, into which the artist has introduced a complex scene with several figures. Here we find the lotus stem used in various ways. It divides the groups, while the individuals of which they are composed grasp it in their hands. At first these and other decorative details prevent us from seeing the full significance of the picture. Its true theme is the homage rendered by two pairs of worshippers to one pair of divinities. The former have each a hand raised and extended in the gesture of adoration. As for the central figures, the deities, the thrones they occupy must be those bronze chairs incrusted with enamels and ivories, which were actually used by kings, and assigned in art to the gods. The attitudes of these two deities is surprising. They do not sit on their chairs; they lie over them with pendent limbs as if they were drunk. The fact is, no doubt, that the artist's hand was unable to do justice to his thought. He meant to show his gods seated in dignity upon their thrones, but he did not quite understand how to bend their persons into the right curves, and so gave them the grotesque attitudes we see here. If we wish to realize his intention, we must imagine these two gods seated in the recesses of their sanctuary, and their worshippers advancing towards them with their backs to us. To show this on a frieze like that we are now discussing would have puzzled an artist far more advanced than the Cypriot potter. Rather than blame him for his inevitable shortcomings, we should, then, give him our best thanks for trying to escape from the monotony of geometrical forms, and for doing his best to figure a scene from contemporary life on the swelling sides of his vase.

This same desire may be traced in many another Cypriot

restored. Even in those parts there are several lacunæ, but fortunately the most interesting detail of all, the wide frieze round the vase at its greatest diameter, is complete. In the neck there is more than one solution of continuity, but as the ornament is purely geometrical, our draughtsman has been able to restore what is missing by the analogy of the rest, and that without fear of mistake.

vessel, and in spite of childish weaknesses of design, it gives them the peculiar and never-failing interest attached to everything by which light is cast upon a vanished world. History tells us that in the fifth century the Cypriot chiefs were already mounted in war-chariots, like the heroes of Homer; the reliefs on the sarcophagi as well as a large number of terra-cottas bear witness to the frequent use of chariots both for war and pleasure (Figs. 117, 139, 140, 145); finally we have some elaborately executed earthenware models of these same vehicles. In a collection recently dispersed there was a beautiful little model, in first-rate preservation, in which all the details of their construction could be

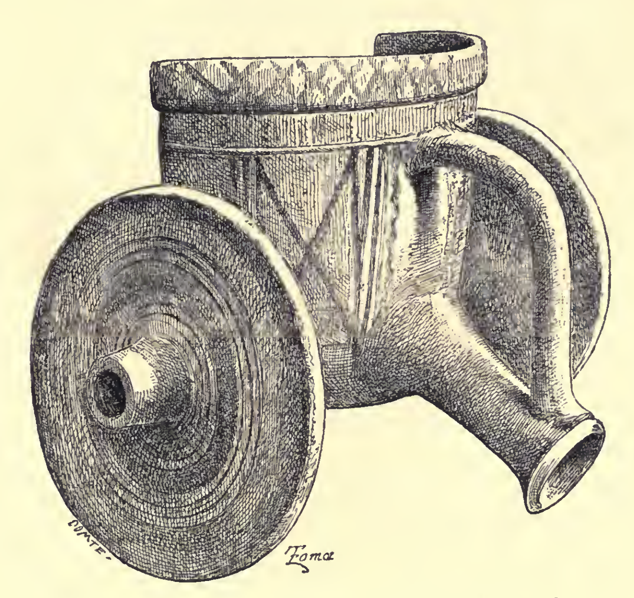


FIG. 248.—Terra-cotta chariot. Height 7½ inches.[1]

surely followed; the solid wheels with their salient hubs, the pole socket with its support, the metal bands by which the walls of the chariot were strengthened and supported (Fig. 248). Chariots are figured in many of the most archaic paintings, and their details do not always accord with those of their terra-cotta model. In the latter the wheels are solid. On the sarcophagi and on a vase from Amathus (Fig. 249) they have spokes. In the latter picture, too, the body is much longer from back to front than in the model. On the other hand, it is quite short in another painting of the same class (Fig. 250), but here again the wheels have spokes. The

[1] From the Albert Barre collection. *Catalogue*, p. 20.

horses in this picture have plumes on their heads as on the sarcophagi (Figs. 139 and 140). The men and horses in these two vase paintings are of singular barbarity, and the vases themselves must either date from a remote antiquity[1] or their decoration must have been left to very inferior workmen.[2]



FIG. 249.—Vase from Amathus. New York Museum.

The British Museum possesses a very interesting vase beonging to the same series. It is Cypriot beyond a doubt; the

[1] This supposition seems to be contradicted by the good shape and generally skilful technics of the Amathus vase. The true explanation is, in all probability, the alternative one given above.

[2] In the De Clercq collection there is a large vase on which a scene analogous to that shown in our figs. 249 and 250 is painted; unfortunately, the pictures are greatly effaced. Several figures ride in a single chariot, which is preceded and followed by women on foot. It may represent a religious procession.

image stands out in bistre upon a dead yellow surface ; its colour has no charm, but the design is comparatively good, and some of the details deserve attention. The vase in question has never yet been published, so we reproduce it here, both as a whole (Fig. 251), and in the detail to which it owes most of its value (Fig. 252).

The picture represents a war or hunting chariot in full course, on a plain suggested by a single tree. The wheels have spokes. Judging from the two sets of reins there are two horses, but the painter has been content to figure one, the other being supposed to be behind his body. Behind the driver a second figure faces to the rear, and shoots an arrow, either at some wild beast or pursuing enemy. His quiver hangs behind his right shoulder,



FIG. 250.—Chariot figured on a cup. From the Barre collection.

while two more, each full of arrows, are fixed to the front and rear of the chariot. The sides of the latter are protected by bronze plates, affixed scalewise. Although the proportions are too slender, and other faults of drawing might be pointed out, the design as a whole is not without vigour. The horse's neck is too heavy and his legs are too thin, but his movement is fairly satisfactory. But what does the label on his flank mean ? It is a survival from those primitive times when the great thing sought for was variety of motive.

At first sight this picture reminds us strongly of the Assyrian bas-reliefs. In those the royal chariot is often provided with quivers in the same way ; it carries two people, the driver and his master ;

while at Nineveh and Nimroud the latter is often shown discharging his shafts to the rear.[1] These resemblances cannot be denied, but they are caused by the fact that all war chariots, having to fulfil similar duties, had a strong family likeness to each other. If we examine this picture in detail, we shall find nothing to suggest that the Cypriot artisan had an Assyrian model before him when he painted it. The only detail which we might think

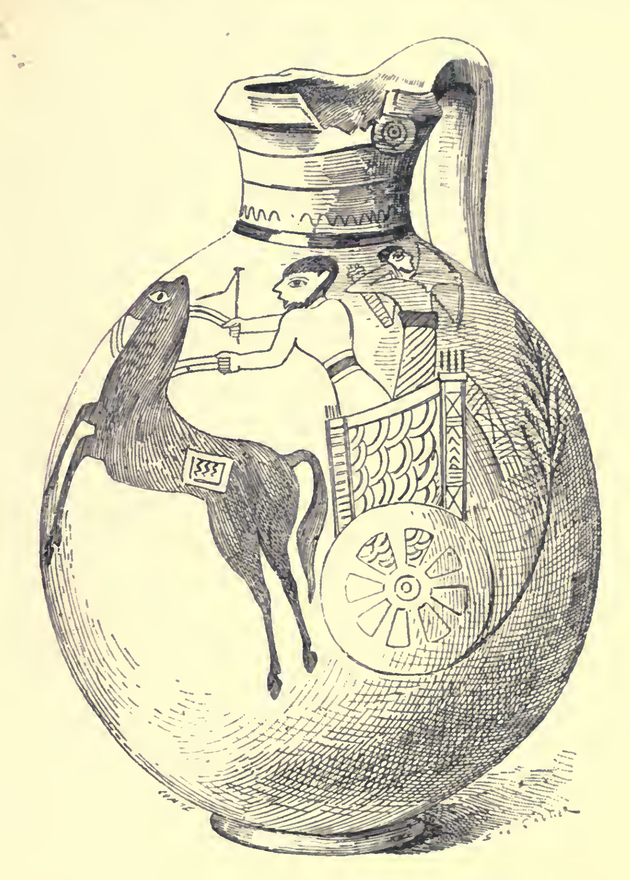


FIG. 251.—Œnochoé in the British Museum. Height 10¼ inches.

borrowed from the East is the oblong label, which bears a certain likeness to the framed inscriptions we encounter on Mesopotamian reliefs, but we have already seen that the motive in question was acclimatized very early in Cyprus. With this single exception the whole vase is thoroughly local. The figures with their bare heads and short beards and hair have nothing Assyrian about

[1] LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, folio, 1849, plate x.

them; the little we can learn as to their costume rather suggests Egypt. The horse is without the rich harness of Assyria; the quivers are not arranged as in the latter country, where they are hung crosswise on the side of the chariot.[1] The kind of banner or streamer which floats behind the car on this vase is also strange to Assyria.[2] Even the wheel-spokes are different; they are more solid and heavy in the Cypriot example, the wheelwright who made them had less skill than his Mesopotamian rival. The Cypriot decorator may have seen reductions, on ivories or metal cups, of those carved pictures in which Pharaoh or some Assyrian king is shown in pursuit, sometimes of a human enemy, sometimes of "big game," and they may have given the first idea for his composition, but for all the details of its execution he appears to have gone no farther than his native cities. We may well believe that his chariot differs in no essential respect from that in which Onesilaos, King of Salamis, was attacking Artybios, the Persian satrap, when the treason of Stesenor, King of Curium, deprived him of the victory which was almost within his grasp.[3]

Upon another vase we find an almost equally careful reproduction of a Cypriot ship (Figs. 253 and 254). It would be pleasant to recognize here one of those vessels which attacked the fleet of Darius with such success during the revolt of Ionia; but we must renounce any such idea. This galley has nothing in the shape of a spur; with its rounded stem and stern, it can hardly be other than a trading vessel. On the whole the picture is more summary than that of the chariot; the painter has suppressed the crew and greatly simplified the rigging; but the large-bladed oars or sweeps may be distinguished, so may the mast and the single sail it supports. The stem differs in shape from the stern. The whole representation may, from its conciseness, seem obscure here and there, but to those who make a special study of naval construction it can hardly fail to be of much value.

On the neck of a large vase, the body of which is broken away, a painter has represented two men coming home from hunting. They are each dressed in a long robe. On a pole stretched across their

[1] LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, folio, 1849, plates x. xiii. xiv. xviii. &c.

[2] The back of an Assyrian chariot has saw-teeth, meant no doubt to prevent an enemy from attempting to scale the chariot by grasping its edge. Such a precaution is natural enough, but it would be difficult to explain this streamer, which would seem to offer hand-hold to a pursuer.

[3] HERODOTUS, V. 112, 113.



Fig. 252.—War chariot from vase in the British Museum. Actual size.



shoulders they carry one of those long-horned goats which are still to be met with in the mountains of Cyprus. The design as a whole is almost childish, but the game is drawn with no little precision.



FIG. 253.—Œnochoé.[1]

A certain vase with black figures from Curium should not be classed as Cypriot pottery;[2] on it is represented the combat of Hercules with the Nemean lion. Close to the figures appear Greek inscriptions, and the work is Hellenic in all its details.

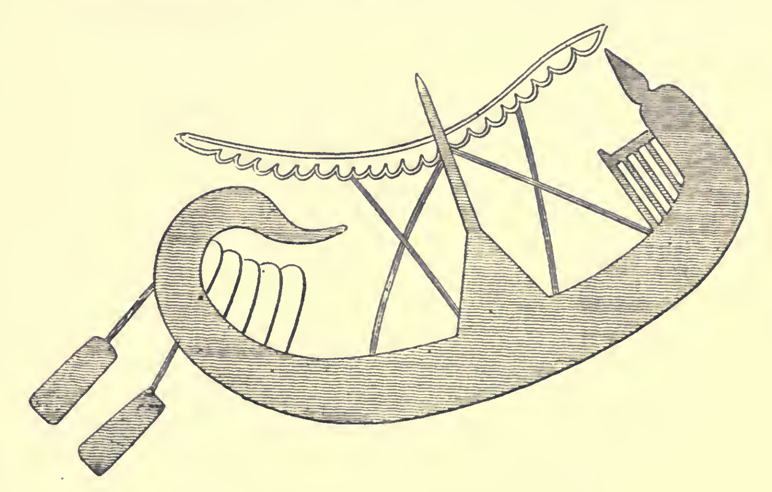


FIG. 254.—Ship, from painting on above vase.

Like many other things found in the same place, it must have been made in some *fabrique* of Greece proper.[3]

[1] From CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pl. xlv.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 401 and 411.

[3] Another vase found in Cyprus, but most likely of Greek origin, is that represented on page 410 of CESNOLA (*Cyprus*). The ornament on its shoulder, a kind of garland composed of long pendant buds, is to be found exactly in the same place and used in the same way on many Greek vases with black figures. The only thing that seems foreign to the habits of Greek workmen in the case of this vase is the large floral design which appears on its side, on the place where Hellenic potters were accustomed to put figures. At Cameiros, however, an almost exactly similar vase was found. It is now in London (MURRAY, in Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 411); it is possible that the example from Cyprus was made at Rhodes.

Our museums contain thousands of Cypriot vases. The Metropolitan Museum of New York is the richest of all; then come London and Paris. We have examined the originals in the last two museums, while for New York we have had excellent photographs at our disposal. We have also made great use of private collections, in which the first-fruits of the excavations are mainly to be found. The cabinet of M. Piot contains many specimens bought in the island itself, when the digging first began. Our only difficulty has been an *embarras de richesse.* We have been compelled to refrain from figuring many specimens of no slight interest, but each variety of the manufacture has been

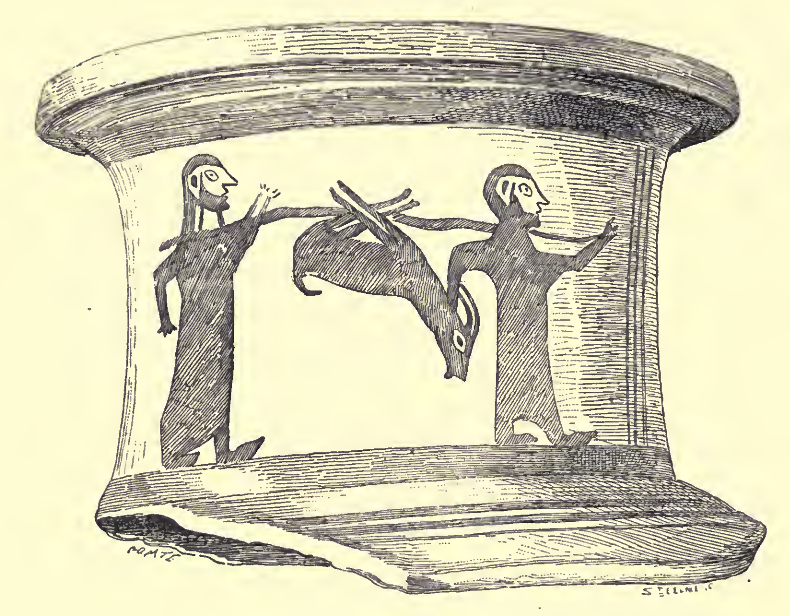


FIG. 255.—Neck of a large amphora. Height 9½ inches; diameter 11½ inches. Louvre.

illustrated by a characteristic example. We have engraved unpublished monuments in preference to those previously figured, and we may therefore assume that a sufficient number have passed before our reader's eyes to justify us in addressing to him a definition of the habits and characteristic features of Cypriot ceramics.

The first distinguishing feature of the island pottery is its monotonous, sad-coloured general aspect. There is no glaze, and both figures and ground are carried out in what look like faded tints. Even in the more elaborately decorated pieces there are

seldom more than two colours employed, a dark brown—between bistre and black—and a dull red. On vessels from Ormidia alone do we find a bright red, and there its brillancy is enhanced by surrounding it with lines of black.[1] White is very rare. It is sometimes found on very elaborate vases, where it is used with the greatest discretion (Fig. 233).[2]

Another striking feature is the multiplicity of forms, and their often fantastic character. In the collection exhibited in Paris in 1870 by Cesnola, M. Froehner, who compiled the catalogue, counted no less than two hundred and seventy-nine varieties. He adds these judicious remarks:[3] "The history of ancient ceramics offers this singularity, that in the beginnings of the art the forms were innumerable, and often of such a fantastic boldness of execution as to cause well founded astonishment; in later years, and especially during the great period, their forms became more elegant, but their number was reduced to what was strictly necessary. As the decadence progressed, forms again began to increase in number and every individual fancy of the artist to express itself in clay."

The development of the plastic arts is certainly one of evolution, of that survival of the fittest which, according to the ideas now most in favour, has peopled our planet with the organisms which now cover its surface. In its search after the best the mind of man begins with incoherent variety, with quite prodigious fertility. The first of the arts is speech. In early forms of language words overflow. To denote one thing the confused wealth of a primitive idiom has a multitude of synonyms, each connected with some particular property of the object, and according to the feeling of the moment the mind and the lips choose one or another. As time goes on most of these terms fall out of use; when language becomes fixed by writing and by the habits of a civilized life, when it becomes what is called a literary language, it makes its choice; it adopts the terms used by the most highly gifted of those who speak and write.

It is the same with those arts in which the mind expresses

[1] See the *Gazette archéologique* for 1883, plate xiv.

[2] See plate i. of the *Catalogue de la Collection Albert Barre*. A cup is here reproduced in its actual colours, and the effect won by a discreet use of white is well shown.

[3] Elsewhere the same scholar tells us, in the catalogue of a still richer collection, that he had noted five hundred varieties of Cypriot vases (FROEHNER, *Collection Barre*, p. 2).

itself not by sound, but by visible and tangible form. They begin with excess, with an unlimited competition between one shape and another. In the potter's art—to confine ourselves to the matter in hand—the elements of such types as shall both answer their immediate purpose and satisfy the plastic instinct, are sought for far and wide; hardly an object in nature but can give him some more or less happy combination. Sometimes he imitates fruits like the gourd, sometimes the body and features of man. We have seen the neck and mouth of a vase formed of a woman's head, while her breasts appear in slight salience on the body. But the effects to be gained by such an adaptation were limited enough, and the whole animal world was called in to afford greater variety. But in spite of the popularity such things enjoyed, they held a lower place than those abstract geometrical forms which resulted naturally from the use of the potter's wheel. Even among these, individual fancy held its own. Vessels were drawn out into narrow phials or swelled almost into globes; some were shaped into large hollow rings, others were drawn here and there into the longer form of an egg; here we find one body with two mouths, there one mouth with three or more bodies. Side by side with what we may call logical shapes, that is, shapes well fitted for the special service they had to fulfil, we find others which seem the result of pure caprice.

As time went on and certain peoples arrived at purity of taste and at a really fine art, most of these forms were abandoned; only those were retained which were at once elegant and thoroughly well combined in view of the service they had to render. Thus Greek art, in the course of its two or three greatest centuries, was content with a very restricted number of forms; these it repeated without intermission, devoting all its energies to perfecting their decoration. It was only in later years, in Macedonian Greece, that the potter tormented himself to incessantly devise new shapes. Art is like the individual man; as it grows old it returns to the weaknesses of its childhood.

In most of its features, then, the pottery of Cyprus represents a primitive art. No doubt in some of its works we find things which establish a certain relation between its products and those of Greece, but such cases are few in number. Taking it as a whole, Cypriot pottery finds no stronger parallel in the ancient world than that of Thera, and especially of Hissarlik, in the

Troad. The same features are to be encountered in modern societies separated from the great stream of civilization by mountain chains or wide oceans; such as the Kabyles of Djurdjura in Algeria, or the Mexicans and Peruvians at the time of the Spanish conquest. In the 1878 Exhibition I was struck with this analogy at every step I took in the galleries where these products of African and American pottery, the former made in our own time, the latter three or four centuries old, were exhibited. The likeness was most striking in the Peruvian pottery, and especially in its decoration. Neither in Peru nor Cyprus was there any glaze; both made frequent use, as a ground, of a dull yellow, like dirty cream; the colours of the decoration in both were equally devoid of brilliancy and frankness. As for the Peruvian types and motives, there are very few which could not be readily paralleled in a Cypriot collection. The same vertical and horizontal circles appear on both, the same rectangles crossed and re-crossed by diagonal lines, the same chevrons, the same dog-teeth, the same meanders, the same opposed triangles. In both the field is closely covered with these things, as if the decorator had feared to leave an empty spot.[1]

The great difference lies in the fact that in America the art of grouping these elements and of subordinating secondary parts to principals was never pushed so far as in the Mediterranean islands and on the main lands of Greece and Italy. In America, among nations whose development was so rudely cut short by foreign invasion, the style we call geometrical remained in its infancy; it never attained the relative perfection we see in some vases from Cyprus and Attica or in some of those bronze disks which have been found in Umbria. The principle and the process is the same in both cases, but the advantage is with the nation that did not confine itself to linear ornament. Whether it were due to greater natural gifts or to better conditions, we cannot say, but the fact is undeniable that the races whose story we are writing obtained far better results from geometrical decoration than those who confined themselves entirely to it.

The resemblance is still more striking in the case of form. In Peru, as at Hissarlik and in Cyprus, the form of the vase is often rudely imitated from that of the human body. But we shall find

[1] See CH. WIENER, *Perou et Bolivie, Récit de Voyage, suivi d'Études archéologiques et epigraphiques, et de Notes sur l'Écriture et la Langue des Populations indiennes.* Paris, Hachette, 1880, 8vo.

this motive used with more discretion at Hissarlik than at Cyprus, while in Peru it is pushed to more extravagant lengths than in either. In the latter country the hands, for instance, are sometimes modelled in relief, and either hang down at the sides, separated from the vase altogether, or lie crossed upon its body. Both in Peru and Mexico bird and quadruped-shaped vessels are very common.

As for those common vessels which are found pretty well everywhere, if you review their shapes you will no doubt see many strange forms, of which, so far as we know, the Cypriot potters were completely ignorant; but by their sides you will discover nearly every fantastic shape by which you have been struck in your examination of the Cypriot collections. We cannot go through the list again, but we may take one example, almost by chance. Nothing is more common in Peruvian and Mexican pottery and in that of the Kabyles, than those vessels with several spouts to one body, or several bodies to one spout, which remind us of what physiologists call monsters. Such things are hardly more fitted for use than a man with two heads or a sheep with five legs is fitted for the work of life, but they at least bear witness to the mental alertness, to the *virtuosité*, of their maker.

We can here do no more than point out these analogies; to become better acquainted with them the student must visit one of the several ethnographic museums now open; but it was well that they should be mentioned, because they help us to understand the real character of Cypriot pottery. In many respects the latter was no more than the industry of a half civilized race; the work was pushed far enough as a trade, but the sentiment of art was greatly wanting. Among the almost countless works it has left us, however, we find a few that betray a higher ambition. In these the decorator has not confined himself to linear nor to floral decoration; he has not even been content with reproducing the more conspicuous forms of animal life; he has tried for something more; he has endeavoured to trace on the surface provided by the ample sides of a vase some of the more familiar scenes of the life about him. Here we find a scene of worship (Fig. 247), or a battle scene (Fig. 252); there a promenade (Fig. 249), a procession (Fig. 250), or a return from hunting (Fig. 254). The former, no doubt, are of singular awkwardness, but the idea is none the less original, and its method none the less interesting. Nothing of the

kind has been met with in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, or Phœnicia; it is in Cyprus that we first encounter that painted vase which is henceforth to play such an important part in the history of ancient art.

Should the Phœnicians be credited with this fertile innovation? we think not. From nothing found in their country have we any reason to believe that they opened any new prospect whatever to art. This step forward should, we think, be laid to the credit of that Greek element in the population of Cyprus which was, as we have seen, the preponderant one. We have explained how great its influence must have been on the development of Cypriot sculpture; why should we believe it did less for ceramics?

We should divide Cypriot vases into the following classes. In the first we should place those vessels with very thick walls and incised decoration, which we have called "Alambra vases" although in fact many of them were found at other points in the island; we ascribe them to the primitive colonists, of unknown race. There is nothing to contradict the belief that they represent a first and very ancient Phœnician industry. In any case the hand of a Phœnician potter is to be recognised in the second class, made up of vases with thinner walls, more skilfully turned, and covered with painted, but still geometrical, ornament. To the Phœnicians may also be ascribed vases with motives taken directly from the East, such as the palmette and the lotus flower, and some of those modelled in the shape of animals. This fancy occurred to the Egyptians also. Finally, we see no good reason to deprive them of all share in the production of those vases on the necks of which human heads were painted or modelled in relief; but among the latter we find more than one example clearly betraying the influence of Greek sculpture (Fig. 230). The potter's industry cannot long have been monopolized by the Phœnicians of the island; the Greek immigrants must soon have learnt to turn the materials furnished by the soil to their proper use, to manage the potter's wheel, the brush, and the modelling stick. At first, no doubt, they would be content to imitate the works of a people who knew all the secrets of an industry which had covered all the shores of the Mediterranean with its products, but they would not have been Greeks had they been content to go on exactly in the line of their masters, and in time they made the great step in advance of which we have already spoken; they set

themselves to cover the sides of their amphoræ, their œnochoés, their cups and aryballoi with figures engaged in actions whose meaning could be more or less clearly understood.

We do not mean, however, to say that the Greeks of Cyprus anticipated those of Rhodes, Corinth or Athens in this path; observed facts are inconsistent with any such idea. Cypriot craftsmen did not begin to paint pictures on their vases until that byway of art had commenced to flourish at many other points in the Hellenic world. The fact that in Cyprus vase-painting did not go through all the regular stages it did elsewhere is enough to prove that it did not originate in the island. Among the easily recognized productions of the Cypriot workshops, we find neither vases of the style known as *Corinthian*, nor those with black figures, nor those with red figures; the very few specimens found in the island are visibly of foreign origin. The Greeks began very early to inscribe their vases with the names of the people figured on them, but no Cypriot vase has been found with any such inscription, either in Greek or Cypriot characters. The whole mythology of Greece and nearly all her poetry is illustrated on her vases. In Cypriot pottery there is nothing of the kind, although several purely Grecian myths, such as those relating to Heracles and Perseus, have been recognized in reliefs executed in the local stone.

The general impression left by all these observations and comparisons is that Cypriot pottery underwent an arrest of development. It was born, perhaps, of a spontaneous effort made by a half savage population, whose ethnical character is at present unknown to us, but whose first lessons were learnt from the Phœnicians. In time potters of Greek race were taught in the same school, and impelled, perhaps, by their own special propensities at the same time as their energies had a new path pointed out to them by stray examples from Rhodes, they set to work to paint figures on their vases. The effort was not, however, sustained. It would seem that the attempt was finally renounced at the beginning of the fifth century, when the island was seized by the Persians and attached for two hundred years to an Asiatic empire.

This sudden lassitude and even stagnation of intellect is to be traced in ceramics more than in any other branch of art. The sculptor was different from the simple potter. He worked for

princes and other great people ; he had sometimes studied abroad. It may even have been that some Greek of Attica or Ionia was summoned to the island by one of its petty kings, there to create works which must have had their effect upon the native artists. But the potter was a simple artizan. He did not quit the roof under which his father had taught him the family trade ; there he turned out his modest creations and sold them to every comer. Any rich amateur who wanted fine figured vases imported them from Athens, while the crowd of humble clients were destitute of that love for innovation which forced Greek art along the path of development.

Under such conditions, Cypriot pottery, after enjoying its period of invention and progress, ended in obscure routine, and that at about the time when the art was elsewhere covering itself with glory. Thenceforward it was a local industry, serving nothing but the daily consumption of the natives ; I do not know that vases of Cypriot manufacture have ever been found outside the limits of the island. Being at least as conservative as those who frequented his shop, the potter repeated down to the last days of antiquity those models which he found easy of sale. Some vases which seem very ancient at the first glance are really quite modern, speaking comparatively, as we can tell by certain details. In the British Museum [1] there is a vase of red earth decorated with black stripes, to which at first sight a very remote date might be assigned. There is no glaze ; the dull tones, both of ground and decoration, the simplicity of the ornamental motive—all have that stamp of archaism which seems so unmistakable. But in front of the vase, on its shoulder, is perched a small female figure, freely modelled in high relief, which can certainly not be older than the time of the heirs of Alexander. The potter was four or five centuries behind the statue maker ; the latter kept pace with the times, the former lagged behind them, cumbered with the traditions of his ancestors. The excavations themselves confirm the conclusions to which we have been led by our study of the vases ; the most recent explorer in the island, Mr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, remarks that the old Cypriot pottery, with its fantastic shapes and ornamental motives so far removed from Greek taste, is completely wanting in Salaminia, where he carried out some important excavations on behalf of the English government. On the other hand this very distinct

[1] Cypriot Saloon, Case 32 (1884).

manufacture is universal at Kition; it is even to be found in tombs whose dates, as we know from the Roman lamps and money found in them, are recent enough.[1]

§ 3.—*Glass.*

The trade of the glass worker has close affinities with that of the ceramist; it is difficult to say under which head such a manufacture as that of "Egyptian faïence" or enamelled earthenware should come (Plates V. and VI.). By the substance of their bodies they belong to ceramics; by their skins to glassmaking. But the question is of slight importance; the thing to be remembered is that the industry of the enameller implies that of the glassmaker.

The ancients ascribed the invention of glass to the Phœnicians.[2] Such an error can be readily explained. During those distant centuries when Greece was still in her infancy all the glass consumed in the Mediterranean was purveyed by the Phœnicians. Those to whom it came were in no position to distinguish between merchants and producers. Until the comparatively late day when the Greeks themselves began to frequent the Delta ports they must have believed the Phœnicians to be incomparable artizans who knew how to do everything, who themselves made all the objects of luxury they sold, and especially those things of glass whose lightness, whose variety of form and brilliancy of colour were so delightful to savage or half civilized people.

But we must not fall into the same mistake. The real inventors of glass were the Egyptians. Its manufacture dates back as far, perhaps, as the ancient empire.[3] In any case it was in full swing in the time of the first Theban empire, before the Phœnician cities were founded, or, at least, before they had risen to any kind

[1] *Mittheilungen des Deutschen archæologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1881, p. 194.

[2] This, at least, seems to be the belief of Pliny, when, in the geographical enumeration in his book v., he calls Sidon "artifex vitri Thebarumque Bœotiarum parens." Elsewhere (xxxvi., 190), and without naming the Phœnicians, he recounts the well-known incident according to which the discovery of glass was due to pure accident. But he places the scene of the accident on the Phœnician coast, near Ptolemaïs, on the banks of the river Belus, the *Nahr-Halou*.

[3] Traces of its manufacture ought, perhaps, to be recognized in the tomb-paintings on the plateau of Sakkarah (LEPSIUS, *Denkmæler*, vol. iii., plates xiii. to xlix.).











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ENAMELLED VASES FROM CAMIRUS

Rhodes

Louvre



of importance.[1] It was only in the time of the Rameses and Thothmes that Phœnicia became first the agent and then the pupil of Egypt, that she learnt the secrets of an art for whose productions there was a constant and ready market.

Egyptian glassmakers were, then, in full possession of their industry; their successors might perfect it and learn how to make it yield new and more complex effects, but they added to it in no essential particular. They already understood how to produce transparent glass of a very rich tint and to decorate it with designs in a distinct colour. This is proved by the oldest vase with a date, a little bottle now in the British Museum, on which the name and style of Thothmes III. may be read. The body is a fine turquoise blue, contrasting well with the yellow of the hieroglyphs and ornamental details. The handle is dark blue with yellow and white lines upon it.[2]

We have no reason to doubt the Egyptian origin of this vase, or that it belongs to the reign of the king whose oval appears upon it. But were it not for this indication, we could just as easily accept it as Phœnician. There are no sure signs by which Egyptian glass can be distinguished from that of Syria. Among the specimens figured on our plates VII., VIII., and IX., some, perhaps, were made in the Nile valley. We have included them all in this part of our history, and have postponed all detailed

[1] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II., p. 375. For all that concerns Egyptian glass-making we may add these to the references already given: WILKINSON, *The Manners and Customs*, &c., vol. iii., p. 89. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti*, Vol. II., plate lii. CAILLAUD, *Recherches sur les Arts et Métiers de l'ancienne Egypt*, plate x. fig. 1 (painting from the hypogea of Gournah).

[2] FROEHNER, *La Verrerie antique; Description de la Collection Charvet* (Le Pecq, 1879; a folio of 139 pages and 34 plates). We shall have more than one occasion to quote this work, from which we have learnt much. We are also greatly indebted to M. Gréau, whose collection of ancient glass is certainly the richest in Europe now that the Charvet collection has gone to America. M. Gréau, has been most generous in opening to us the stores of knowledge resulting from his long experience, and from the experiments on the composition of ancient glass which he has carried out with the help of specialists. Moreover he has allowed us to reproduce some of the best examples in his collection, those for instance in our plates vii., viii. and ix. We need hardly do more than mention the work of DEVILLE, *Histoire de la Verrerie dans l'Antiquité*, 1873, 4to (Morel). Its author is more especially interested in glass of the Roman period, while his very mediocre plates give a most inexact idea of their originals. On the other hand CARL FRIEDRICH's criticism on the work of Froehner may be consulted with advantage (*Jahrbücher des vereins für alterthums freunden im Rheinlande*, Heft, LXXIV., Bonn, 1881, pp. 164-180).

account of ancient glass to these late pages, because the industry in question was always of extraordinary importance in Phœnicia, where it held its place down to the very end of antiquity, or, to be more exact, down to the middle ages, and even to our own century.

Several ancient writers allude to the glass factories on the Syrian coast, and even now the sites of many could be identified without much trouble. Lortet tells us that at Sarepta, among the ruins on the shore, lumps of glass could be picked up in any numbers, the *fiascos* of the blowers.[1] There is nothing in this to be surprised at when we remember that glass furnaces flamed on these coasts for five-and-twenty centuries and more. In the twelfth century, A.D., Tyre still had glass works in full activity.[2] Nothing of the kind is to be found in the often-pillaged Sour, nor even in the much more prosperous Saïda.[3]

But the industry did not perish because it shrank from the exposed cities on the coast; it migrated to an inland city which was protected from periodical devastation both by its situation and by the sacred character of its shrines. I remember seeing some fine bracelets of blue glass sold in the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; in form and colour some among them reminded me of antique jewels. My curiosity was aroused. I asked where those things were made, and they told me at Hebron, where glass works still existed by which a very large trade was carried on, their manufactures being exported by Arab and Jewish traders, even as far as the Soudan.[4] The character of these objects is always the same; little vases and other vessels, ear-rings and nose-rings, bracelets, anklets, and armlets, among the last named some whose types have certainly been handed down from a remote antiquity. One is a human eye, the eye of Osiris;[5] another represents a human hand with two extended fingers; this is a charm against the evil eye, and is known as the *Kef-*

[1] LORTET, *La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 113.

[2] *Voyages de Rabbi-Benjamin, Fils de Iona de Tadèle, en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'a la Chine, etc.*, translated by J. P. BARATIER (Amsterdam, 1734, 2 vols. in 1, 8vo.), vol. i. p. 72.

[3] See PLINY, H. N. XXVI., 191; *Sidone quondam iis officinis nobili.*

[4] M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, to whom I am indebted for much information on the glass works of Hebron, tells me that Aleppo also profited by the insecurity of the coast towns in the same way.

[5] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 103.



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Rhodes

Louvre



Miriam, "the Hand of Mary." May we not see in this, in spite of its name, a survival from those hands we find so often on the Phœnician steles (see Vol. I., Fig. 192)? Certain processes of coloration also seem to have been preserved; nothing could be more brilliant or pleasing to the eye than the blue and green of many a little flask and phial; they remind us of the Egyptian enamels, of the most carefully wrought specimens of Phœnician glass.[1]

The evidences of history, of the fragments that have come down to us, of the later course of an industry rooted in the soil, all combine to prove that Phœnicia, if not the native, was the adopted country of glassmaking, was the country in which it reached the greatest perfection ever known in antiquity. In the doubts which may attack us as to the real origin of many specimens of glass that still survive, the most prudent course will be to assign them to Phœnicia. Her factories were more prolific, her artists were more skilful, than those of other nations, and the finest pieces must therefore have issued from her workshops.

We have another reason for attaching our account of this industry to Phœnicia in the fact that, when writing of Egypt and Assyria, our attention was almost monopolised by their fine arts, for the full consideration of which we certainly had no superfluous space. In the case of Phœnicia, neither sculpture nor architecture are original enough to justify us in sacrificing, in their interest, the laborious artizans who produced the larger part of the cargoes carried by the Phœnician ships, even as far as the distant Atlantic. The Phœnicians were but middling artists, but they were great industrials, and a history of their activity would be but ill-proportioned which did not devote a generous space to the account of their "art manufactures."

While some of the objects to which we are about to call the attention of our readers may well have been made in Egypt, it may also be the case that not all of them really belong to the period of antiquity to which we are supposed to restrict ourselves. But it must be remembered that in such an industry as glass-making and working, things did not progress in ancient times as

[1] Figs. 1 and 2 in our plate viii. give some idea of these colours. The double mask of Hathor, found at Ascalon by M. Clermont-Ganneau and now in the British Museum, is a splendid example of this body (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *l'Imagerie Phénicienne*, p. 90).

they do now. Scientific discoveries were not made every few months, compelling a complete renewal of the plant and change in the processes of this or that industry every year or two. A single set of formulæ, once discovered and established, served for generation after generation; the son changed nothing in the practice of the father, even to the turn of a hand. We may quote a specimen here and there, which may, as a fact, belong to the time when Greek was spoken at Tyre, but it will none the less be a product of the art whose story we are about to relate. We have put aside, however, as special manufactures, those kinds of glass which began to be produced under the successors of Alexander, and reached their highest development in the time of the Roman empire. We may safely affirm that none of the specimens we reproduce are later than the period when Greek art was still in its infancy, was still under the ascendency of the Asiatic civilization. Most of these types have been found in Rhodes, in the cemetery of Cameiros—of this the reader may convince himself by consulting Salzmann's *Journal of his Explorations*, in the British Museum, and by examining the treasures those excavations yielded.[1] The alabastrons, the amphoræ, the little œnochoés, in this series, display almost every variety of form, design, and colour, that we shall have to describe, and these vases were found in sepulchres which, from their other contents, are believed by archæologists to date from about the eighth or seventh century before our era.

The first glass must have been manufactured on or near the coasts of the Egyptian Delta. Potash is to be found more or less in all vegetables, but it is to be extracted in considerable quantities only from marine plants, and it is to a combination of potash, or soda, with flint and chalk that glass is due. For more than fifty years past, soda and potash have been extracted directly from sea salt,[2] but in the East the method practised in the days of the Ousourtesens, perhaps even in those of Cheops, is still employed. On the shores of the Dead Sea the *Arthrocnemum fruticosam* grows in abundance, and reaches a height of two or three yards. Arabs may often be seen cutting its stems, which they then stack

[1] M. Froehner counted sixty-eight Cameiros vases of this character in the British Museum.

[2] This invention is due to a Frenchman named François Leblanc; his process has been carried to great perfection in recent years.

and burn, afterwards carrying the ashes to the glassmakers of Hebron.[1] The Phœnicians, too, must have made use of the materials thus prepared for them by these marine vegetables, but they were not content with that. Those who believe that the Phœnicians were the first to substitute a mineral base for these vegetable ashes, and to make use of *nitre*—or *saltpetre*, as it is vulgarly called, *nitrate of potash*, as a chemist would say—may be in the right.[2] We do not know whether this step in advance was actually made by Egypt or not, although we know that she possessed the materials.[3] It has been ascertained, however, that the Phœnicians made use of saltpetre, which is, perhaps, worked more economically and at least gives a finer quality of glass.[4] Glass in which vegetable soda is used is never so limpid as that made only with potash. The superiority of Phœnician glass was also attributed to the fineness of the sand collected on the coast, at the mouth of the river Belus, near Ptolemais.[5]

Glass may be divided into three classes; colourless and quite transparent glass; coloured and transparent glass, which tints the rays passing through it with its own colour; and opaque glass, resembling porcelain. The Phœnicians manufactured all three kinds. The first is chiefly represented in our collections by those urns, of comparatively recent date, which are found in abundance in the Greek and Roman sepulchres of Cyprus. The wonderful iridescence shown by some of them arises from molecular action going on through so many centuries.[6] But no such importance

[1] LORTET, *La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui.* [2] FROEHNER, *La Verrerie antique*, p. 26.

[3] In the natron lakes, to the west of the Nile.

[4] "The river Belus," says TACITUS (Hist. v., 7), "falls into the sea of Judæa. Round its mouth glass is produced by submitting a mixture of sand and nitre to the action of fire. The coast, though of moderate extent, is inexhaustible in this respect." PLINY (XXXVI., 191), also speaks of glass as composed of nitre and sand.

[5] The fame of this stretch of sand is attested by several writers. See STRABO, XVI. ii. 25. JOSEPHUS, *De Bello Judaico*, II. X. 12. PLINY, XXVI. 190. Strabo, after mentioning the heaps of sand collected for the manufacture and the virtues attributed to it, says very sensibly that equally good material is to be found elsewhere.

[6] This iridescence has been studied by more than one chemist. The following works may be consulted with advantage: SIR DAVID BREWSTER, *Notes on the Decay of Glass, especially upon that of the Ancient Glass Found at Nineveh* (Appendix to LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon* 1853); and *On the Decomposed Glass Found at Nineveh and other Places* (in the *Transactions of the British Association*, 1860, p. 9); J. FOWLER, *On the Process of Decay in Glass, and, incidentally, on the Composition and Texture of Glass at Different Periods, and the History of its Manufacture* (*Archæologia* 1880, vol. xlvi. pp. 65-162).

seems to have been attached to the perfect transparency of glass as we attach to it to-day; the most highly prized glass was decorated with lines and ribbons of colour;[1] it was upon this latter class of manufacture that the cleverest workmen were employed, and we shall see presently how clever they were. Finally the same workshops turned out glass that was quite opaque, but of which the secret has since been lost. M. Gréau possesses a glass statuette in which there is thirty per cent. of bronze. This mixture gave a fine, hard, and heavy material for incrusting furniture and casing walls. Its tone is very much like that of one kind of lacquer.[2]

We shall not dwell upon colourless and transparent nor upon opaque glass; the first was only used for common things, and the popularity of the latter belongs to a period much later than that to which we have limited ourselves. Our object is to speak fully of those many-coloured glass vessels found at Cameiros and in Cyprus, in the same tombs as enamelled faïence of Egyptian manufacture; in these we may recognise the masterpieces of the old Phœnician industry, dating back to the early years of her commerce with Egypt. In our Plates VII., VIII., and IX., a choice of examples will be found, all of which, thanks to the liberality of their owner, we have handled and closely inspected in the original.[3]

[1] The phrase *opaque glass* is sometimes applied to the coloured glass of Egypt and Phœnicia; it is, however, inaccurate, as we may easily convince ourselves by holding a specimen up to the light. In nearly every case it is frankly transparent; the only exceptions are in those cases where the glass is carelessly made and impure; when good specimens seem opaque it is because they are dirty inside. The term opaque should be reserved for that glass which has been deliberately deprived of transparency, so as to give it a surface like marble or porcelain.

[2] Pliny says of this glass, "Totum rubens vitrum atque non translucens, *hæmatinum* appellatum" (XXXVI. 197). He saw statues of Augustus carried out in this material and admired its density: "Capti materiæ ejus crassitudine."

[3] According to M. GRÉAU, who could not, however, feel quite satisfied in every case as to the authenticity of the information given to him, the objects figured in these three plates are to be accounted for as follows:

Plate vii. Fig. 1, alabastron formerly in the Parent Collection; found by Salzmann at Cameiros. Fig. 2, found in Syria. It belonged to the Lavec Collection, which consisted mainly of objects dug up during the making of the high road between Beyrout and Damascus. Fig. 3, alabastron bought in Syria.

Plate viii. Figs. 1 and 2, alabastron and œnochoé found in Cyprus. Fig. 3, jar from the Lavec Collection.

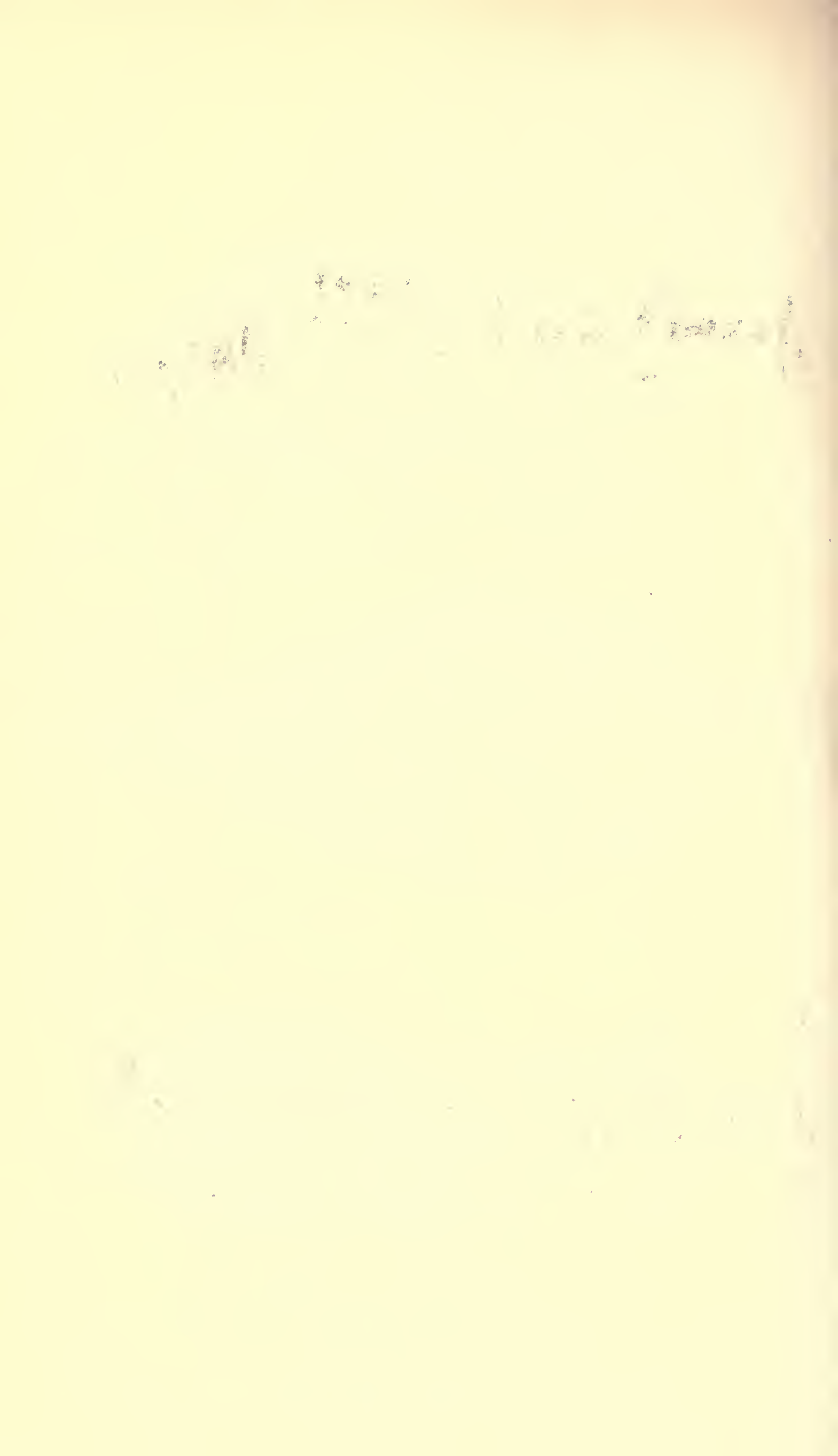
Plate ix. Fig. 1, alabastron from Cesnola's first excavations in Cyprus, in 1867. Fig. 2, M. Gréau could not discover where this fine œnochoé was found, but he






(3)

PHŒNICIAN GLASS
IN THE COLLECTION OF M. GREAU
Actual Size



The common feature of all these objects lies in the fact that their decorations are apparently in the thickness of the body, and an examination of unfinished or deteriorated examples shows how the process was carried out without injury to the brilliancy of the colours used.

The stages of the operation were as follows. The glass was first impregnated with its ground colour and then blown into its

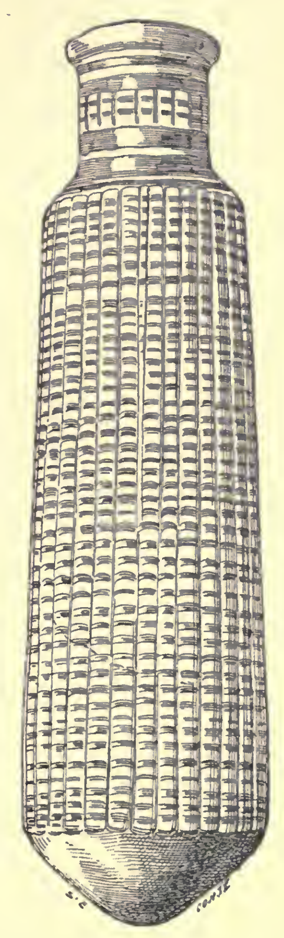


FIG. 256.—Bottle in the Gréau Collection. Height 7 inches.

first general shape; while still hot and soft it was rotated on a metal rod while the workman engraved with a point the lines of the intended decoration; after this, and while the vase was still

possesses two more of the same shape and colour, which both came from Cameiros. There are grounds, therefore, to ascribe the same *provenance* to this example. Fig. 3, from Upper Egypt.

rapidly rotating, threads of coloured glass were forced into these grooves. Thin as the threads were, they yet stood up in slight relief, but after the vessel was annealed they were brought down, and a homogeneous surface obtained by polishing.[1]

That the account here offered is the right one we know from the fact that in some bottles the operations described have been carried out by clumsy workmen, with the result that some of the grooves have lost their threads; in other cases the polishing has been omitted either from carelessness or from a deliberate choice of the effect so given. An example of this is to be seen in the phial here figured, which was probably found at Cameiros (Fig. 255).[2] Even where all salience has disappeared the eye may, as a rule, follow the thread of colour from one end to the other. The setting of the thread must have varied in difficulty with the complexity of the design. It was easy enough to roll it spirally round the body of a vase (Plate IX., Figs. 1 and 3), but more dexterity was required when it had to be broken (Plate VII., Figs. 1 and 3; Plate VIII., Figs. 1-3; Plate IX., Fig. 1). In these the thread had to be stretched at each angle by a thrust of the little forceps with which the workmen held and managed it. The whole operation had to be done with great rapidity in order to get it finished before the glass cooled, and only a more than usually dexterous hand could carry it out with success. The vases so made must have been far more costly than those which had no ornament beyond a thread at the neck and ribbed sides.

The commonest shape among those glass vessels to which a high antiquity can be ascribed, is that of the alabastron. It was extensively used in Phœnicia at a very early date; it was placed in the tombs, it was exported, and, as our readers will remember, it was placed in the hands of the dead on the anthropoid sarcophagi (Vol. I., Figs. 132 and 134). In the series of these vessels we must, then, look for the oldest products of Egyptian and Phœnician glass-making. The shape was easily made; it required no elaborate or greatly salient handles, and being consecrated by its connection with the burial of the dead, it was never abandoned. In course of

[1] This explanation, in which we follow M. GREAU, agrees with that adopted by M. FROEHNER (*La Verrerie antique*, ch. ii.).

[2] FROEHNER also figures a bottle with the thread in relief (*La Verrerie antique*, p. 39).



(1)



(2)



(3)

Gautier del

Imp E Frailler

Dambourgez chromolith

PHŒNICIAN GLASS
IN THE COLLECTION OF M. GREAU
Actual Size



time however, it underwent a development in various directions suggested by the sister art of ceramics. Look, for instance, at three vessels we reproduce (Plate VIII., Figs. 1 and 3; Plate IX., Fig. 2). The graceful curves of these little objects betray an advanced stage of the art, when taste had become refined and hands equal to any calls upon them.

Long before arriving at this subtle beauty of form the glass-workers had perfected themselves in the use of colour; they excelled in so arranging tints as to excite and please the eye. Not that their palette could boast of any great variety. They had four or five principal colours—white, yellow, green, blue, and brown. Red only occurs now and then. Blue was the favourite colour of the Phœnician glass-workers, as it had been that of the enamellers of Egypt and Assyria, and was to be, in far later times, the chosen tint of the Persian ceramists.

These tints were obtained from metallic oxides. Cobalt, and perhaps copper, yielded blue; green was certainly won from the latter metal; manganese gave browns, blacks, and violets; oxide of iron may have been turned to for yellow. It must have been by the aid of oxide of tin that the pearly hues in which the beauty of one of our phials consists (Plate IX., Fig. 1) were produced.[1] This piece is of excessive rarity, and, we may say, as much of the œnochoé figured on the same plate (Fig. 2), on which the veining of agate is reproduced with success. Some vases exist in which the imitation of amber has been attempted.

All the vases, with the characteristics we have just described, are either perfume-bottles or amphoræ and jars of such small dimensions that they could hardly be anything but objects of luxury. Cups for the table do not seem to have been made of this coloured and translucid glass; it may have been too costly for use in the manufacture of vessels which, from their nature, were liable to be often broken.

On the other hand, as soon as the secret of making pure glass and tinting it with various colours was mastered it was employed in the imitation of precious stones. "By means of a coloured vitreous paste gems can be imitated with such perfection that the counterfeit will often puzzle the most skilful connoisseur; gems are, in fact, no more than lumps of glass made by nature. . . .

[1] Phosphate of lime would give the same tint, we are told: but we do not know that the ancients employed that common material as a colouring base.

The illusion is therefore great, if not quite complete."[1] In the time of Pliny the chief precious stones were constantly imitated.[2] The emerald was one of the easiest to counterfeit.[3] But such imitations were made long before the Roman time. In his description of the temple of Melkart, at Tyre, Herodotus speaks with wonder of an emerald column which shone at night-time.[4] It is likely enough that it was nothing more than a shaft of emerald glass, made with unusual care and so contrived as to inclose a lamp.[5]

It is clear that when once this industry was started it was easy enough to turn out glass scarabs, cones, amulets and other small objects in any number.[6] We have found scarabs of glass paste in Sardinia. As a rule they were made of a whitish and nearly opaque glass which is not easily distinguished, at the first glance, from enamelled earthenware. The necklace from Tharros, which was presented to the Louvre by M. Benjamin Delessert, is composed of more than forty heads, of two cylinders, of four grotesque bulls' heads, and of a large bearded mask in the centre of the ornament (Plate X.). All these pieces are of glass. In the necklace figured below, its glass beads are mingled with carnelions and agates. This latter trinket comes from M. Renan's excavations in Phœnicia; the necklaces and bracelets at the top of the plate come from the same place. The long olive-shaped beads are all of glass.

At Cameiros a large number of glass objects of a whitish paste, sometimes lightly tinted with blue, have been found. Of these each type is represented by several examples, and it is easy to see that only a few moulds were used for the production of them all.[7] Some of these, like this miniature œnochoé, may have been used as pendants for necklaces or bracelets (Fig. 257), but the majority are

[1] FROEHNER, *La Verrerie antique*, p. 45.

[2] PLINY, Nat. Hist. xxvii. 98, 128.

[3] *Ibid.* xxxvii. 112.

[4] HERODOTUS, ii. 44.

[5] Down to the time of Guyton de Morveau the material of which the *sacro catino* at Genoa is composed was believed to be emerald. The French chemist proved that it is nothing more than glass.

[6] Even in the Roman period the ring with a glass stone in it was called the "jewel of the poor" (PLINY, "*vitreis gemmis e volgi annulis;*" Nat. Hist. xxxv. 48).

[7] The British Museum possesses one of the hard-stone moulds used for this purpose. It is an earring mould, and is made of a greenish rock, like breccia. All the objects reproduced in our Figs. 534-541 belong to the British Museum.



PHŒNICIAN GLASS

Louvre



flat labels, which must have been sewn upon robes ; they have holes for the stitches, which must have been bored through the paste while still soft. In a very few cases these little plaques have





FIG. 257.—Glass pendant.



FIG. 258.—Plaque with sphinx.

figures upon them (Fig. 258), like the rampant sphinx here reproduced. As a rule volutes, beads in strong relief (Figs. 259 to 262) and rosettes of six or eight points (Figs. 263 to 265) form their only decoration.









FIGS. 259-262.—Glass plaques.

The glass objects we have described, seem to be the only ones which may certainly be assigned to the old Phœnician period, to the period when inspiration came rather from the east than the







FIGS. 263—265 —Glass plaques.

west. Antiquity has, indeed, left us things in glass of a different kind. To take the nomenclature of M. Frœhner there are the *objects in polychromatic glass imitating the textures of wood* (*verres*

polychromes imitant la texture du bois,) which recall the *vetri tarsiati* and *millefiori* of Venice and were made by a similar process. There was the *miniature glass,* called sometimes but incorrectly *mosaic glass,* and the *glass decorated with artificial gems,* of which we have such a precious example in the French National Library in the Cup of Chosroes II. Add to all these, glass objects in the shapes of figures and fruits, glass with decorations in relief, cameo glass like the famous *Portland vase,* painted, engraved, and gilded glass, glass mounted in metal, and many more varieties which it would take too much space even to enumerate. All these belong to a date at least as late as the successors of Alexander, some to one no earlier than the Roman Emperors. By a natural effect of decadence the skill of the glass-worker then began to be admired far above artistic purity, and sums were paid for mere *tours-de-force* which the Greek ceramist of the great period never dreamt of.

§ 4.—*Metallurgy.*

For seven or eight centuries the Phœnicians seem to have enjoyed a practical monopoly in the manufacture of vessels in copper, bronze, silver and gold, decorated with more or less complex and elegant designs, which were partly engraved and partly beaten out. In the time of Thothmes and Rameses, we already find the Phœnicians offering vases as tribute to the sovereigns of Egypt. In fact by metal alone could the shapes and colours of the vessels figured in the famous tomb of Rekhmara, the overseer of Thothmes III., be given. The accompanying inscriptions tell us whence the different series of presents deposited by vassals at the feet of the king have been brought; the vessels figured below belong to the offering of the Khetas, that is to say, of the Phœnicians. Some of these may belong to works in ceramy, but the craters with thin stems and detached ornaments, the animals' heads with ears, snouts, and horns all freely relieved, the vessels with handles coming well below their points of attachment, must be in metal and may be looked upon as works of the Phœnician smith. [1]

[1] The pictures in this tomb have been described by Hoskins (*Voyage en Ethiopie*, pp. 328 *et seq.*), who was the first to open it, whence it is sometimes called *Hoskins's tomb.* The pictures are reproduced in colour, in plates xlvi-xlix. The most interesting part is also fac-similed by Wilkinson, (*Manners and Customs, &c.*, vol. i. p. 38 and plate ii.).

A few centuries later we find Achilles offering as a race prize at the funeral of Patroclus "a silver crater holding six measures, and, by its beauty, without rival upon earth; it was made most carefully by skilful Sidonian artists, and brought by Phœnician merchants across the misty sea, shown in the ports, and then given as a present to Thoas."[1] Elsewhere we find a king of Sidon presenting a silver crater to Menelaus, and this, according to the poet, was the work of Hephaistos, which is as much as to say that Phœnician things of the kind were so fine as to be thought worthy of attribution to the god of smiths himself.[2]

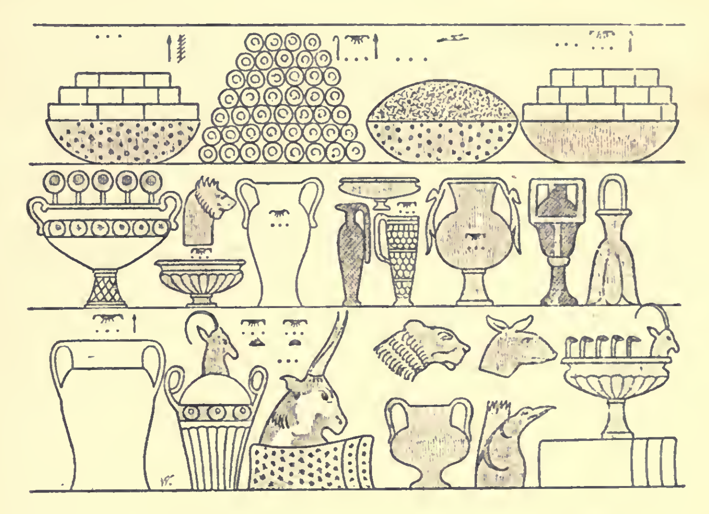


FIG. 266.—Vessels figured in the tomb of Rekhmara. From Wilkinson.

A reader of Homer fifty years ago would have had no little difficulty in imagining what those craters or bowls were like; nowadays we are more advanced; even the Egyptian paintings are not our best authorities as to their appearance; we possess some of the things themselves, and their number grows every year. We may even venture to say that of all the products of Phœnician industry the most authentic are the works in metal we are about to describe. The Egyptians made none of them; as for Chaldæa and Assyria, they seem to have been content with very simple models, in which decorations are far less complex and figures far less numerous than in Phœnicia, while the Greeks had no sooner begun to chase and beat metal than they gave to it unmistakable evidence of their own

[1] HOMER, *Iliad*, xxiii. 704-745.
[2] *Ibid. Odyssey*, iv. 615-619; and xv. 115-119.

commanding genius. To-day, then, the archæologist can distinguish Phœnician work of the kind at a glance, and that without regard to its *provenance*.

The fact that Phœnicia did manufacture these metal objects is proved, not only by the Egyptian paintings and their legends, but by the direct evidence of Phœnician inscriptions. It may perhaps be thought that the occurrence of names in Semitic characters on many of the bowls found in Assyria is not conclusive; competent critics believe that here may be recognized an alphabet derived from that of Phœnicia, and employed for certain purposes and by certain groups of the population side by side with the cuneiform writing, which it ended by replacing through the whole valley of Mesopotamia. The editors of the *Corpus* class these inscriptions as Aramæan. It is different with monuments either from Phœnicia itself or from the west. The remains of one of the oldest Phœnician inscriptions may be recognized on a fragment of a bronze cup reproduced in our first volume (Fig. 32); it is to the effect that the vessel in question was dedicated to Baal Lebanon by one Hiram, who may have been the King of Tyre, and contemporary of Solomon.[1] And there is nothing to suggest that this cup offered to the national deity was of foreign manufacture. The inscription on the famous Palestrina cup, *Esmunjaïr ben asto*, is also clearly Phœnician. It may be the signature of the artist.[2] Of Hiram's bowl or platter we have nothing but the border, but that of Esmunjaïr is decorated with images and similar in style and arrangement to many bowls on which no lettering appears, and this fact must be carefully borne in mind.

The main criterion, however, is the character of the ornament lavished over the surface of these bowls. As we have already said so often, the Phœnicians mixed up elements taken from Egypt and Assyria, not without giving some preference to the former, and on no objects more clearly than these do we see the system upon which the borrowing in question was carried on. Nowhere else are what we may call *empty forms*, that is, forms divorced

[1] *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars. I, No. 2.

[2] Certain peculiarities suggest to M. Renan that this inscription was cut at Carthage rather than at Tyre (*Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 16 *et seq.*). The peculiar character of the signature is enhanced by its conspicuous position in the centre of the bowl; all other inscriptions hitherto found are, as it were, hidden away under the edges, and have to be looked for. Even now, in the Arab world, the proprietor of such vessels has his name inscribed in the latter position.

from the meaning given to them by their creators, more frequent; under such conditions even the human figure may cease to become expressive, and may sink to a mere detail of decoration. In the central medallion we find the same conventional group occurring again and again; in fact the artist seems to have had no more than about three or four motives to choose from, and to have selected one rather than the other for no particular reason. The first examples we propose to study are the cups without feet and of very slight depth, which we have already encountered in Assyria where they were used to pour libations.[1] They were the φιάλαι of the Greeks, and the *pateræ* of the Romans. The inscriptions of which we have spoken are to be found on all cups of this particular kind, which indeed form a series, a most interesting and instructive series. We cannot reproduce all the examples in our western museums; we have therefore selected all those in the decoration of which there is any peculiarity. The difficult thing is to know how to class them. There can be no question of chronological order. The materials for such a classification are wanting. From its comparative rudeness of workmanship, we may be inclined to put some particular specimen before another in which the design is more accurately carried out, but in spite of that the two may be contemporary; the one being from a good, the other from an inferior hand. Neither does material afford a good basis of classification. On vessels of silver and silver-gilt the figures are as a rule carefully carried out, but there are others of bronze on which no less pains have been lavished.

We shall, then, restrict our attention to the ornamental motives. These are divided into concentric bands arranged around the central medallion. The latter often incloses a group formed of from two to five figures (Vol. I. Fig 36); sometimes the space is filled by geometrical designs; the commonest motive is a large rosette, sometimes surrounded by a cable (Fig. 206), sometimes with smaller rosettes between its points. As for the concentric bands, sometimes there is but one (Vol. I. Fig. 36, and above Fig. 206); sometimes there are two (Fig. 267); sometimes, but more rarely, as many as three (Fig. 271). As a rule a cable or a string of beads separate one zone from another (Fig. 267). As a rule the artist has begun by striking out the chief masses with the

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Ch. iv. § 4. For the form of these cups see Fig. 208, and for their use, Fig. 113.

chisel and hammer, working from the reverse side; afterwards he adds definition with the help of the burin. Chasing and *repoussé* work are thus commingled. But if you turn the plate over you will see traces of neither; for the cup is double, the reverse of the decorated bottom is hidden and protected by a second disk of metal.



FIG. 267.—Bowl from Præneste. In the Kircher Collection.

In some bowls the outer zone of decoration contains an attempt to figure a scene of real or ideal life, analogous to those painted by the decorators of Greece on their vases; in others we see nothing but those empty forms borrowed right and left, but especially from Assyria and Egypt, of which we have already spoken. We must not think, however, that two systems of decoration are here represented, and that one ex-

cludes the other. Even on those examples which have a most clearly marked pictorial scene on their outer bands, the more conventional images are also employed. Here and there we find scenes from actual life in the same compartment with all kinds of monsters, sphinxes, genii and griffins. So that it is not easy to separate one category from the other. We must attempt to do so, however, for such distinction is the only thing to which we can turn to bring something like order into the long list of these metal bowls.

We may take as a type of the first category (the class of bowls on which the images have a real sense of their own) one of those found at Palestrina, the ancient *Præneste*, in 1876. The hypogeum, probably a tomb, in which they were found, contained a veritable treasure composed of numerous objects in gold, in electrum, in silver plated with gold, in ivory, amber, glass, bronze, and iron. There were cups, bowls, a tripod, jewels, arms, and various utensils.[1] The cup of Esmunjaïr belongs to this treasure (Vol. I. Fig. 36). The bowl we here reproduce is no less interesting, although, as it is without inscription, its interest is of a different kind. It owes its importance mainly to the ingenious and subtle criticism of which it has been made the object by M. Clermont-Ganneau, by whom the meaning of the figures on its principal zone has been divined and explained.[2] We shall be content with summarising his explanation, which can, we think, be contested only in a few minor points.

The cup in question consists of a thin plate of silver overlaid with gold; its greatest diameter is seven inches and three-fifths. The under or outside is without ornament; the interior is covered with small subjects in slight relief. In the centre, and surrounded by a circle of beads, there is a subject to which we shall presently have to return. The zone immediately without the medallion is

[1] The first details of this discovery were given by MM. HELBIG and CONESTABILE (*Bullettino dell' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 1876, pp. 117-131; *Scavi di Palestrinae; notizie degli scavi di antichità communicate alla reale accademia dei Lincei*, August, 1876, p. 113). See also M. Helbig's *Cenni sopra l'arte fenicia, littera al Signor Senatore G. Spano* (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 1876). This paper is accompanied by four plates (*Monumenti*, vol. x. plates xxxi. xxxi a. xxxii. xxxiii.).

[2] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Études d'archéologie orientale. L'Imagerie Phénicienne et la Mythologie iconologique chez les Grecs.* Part I. *La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestrina*, 8vo, xxxix., 156 pages and eight plates. E. LEROUX, 1880. Why has M. Clermont-Ganneau left an undertaking so full of promise unfinished?

filled with eight horses following each other to our right. Over each horse a bird flies in the same direction. Outside this zone there is an outer and wider one, which is bounded on its external edge by a large snake, whose scaly length describes an almost exact circle, except in the region of the tail, which is slightly waved. This serpent has been compared to the favourite Egyptian and Phœnician symbol for the universe, the *κόσμος*, which is figured as a snake with its tail in its mouth.[1]

The subjects in the outer zone are as remarkable for their execution as for their selection and arrangement. The whole conception is not "a sequence of fantastic subjects, arbitrarily chosen and capriciously grouped; it is a plastic idyll, a story with a beginning, a middle, and an end. . . . . ."[2] The Phœnician metal worker has made use of a convention common to all epochs, to the middle ages and our own days as well as to classic antiquity; he has repeated the actors in order to express the idea of succession in their acts. "This first principle established," says M. Clermont-Ganneau, "I easily succeeded in unravelling the sense of the whole picture, although it remained a closed letter to M. Helbig, by whom this little monument was first published. I saw that we had to do with a consecutive story, divided into nine distinct scenes:

"1. An armed hero quits his castle or fortified city in the morning; he goes to hunt, mounted in a chariot driven by a servant; above his head there is an umbrella, the badge of his high rank and his defence against the mid-day sun; a quiver hangs on the side of the chariot.[3]

"2. Seeing a stag upon a hillock, the hunter alights and leaves his chariot in the charge of the driver; he advances noiselessly and from behind a tree lets fly an arrow at the quarry.

"3. The stag is struck and the hunter takes possession of him.

"4. After the hunt, a rest. We are in a wood, where palms are mingled with other trees. The horses are unharnessed and graze under the eye of the driver; the chariot is pushed back, its pole in the air. A repast is prepared, of which the stag will afford

[1] MACROBIUS, I. ix. This symbol is very ancient. It occurs in Egyptian papyri of the Ramessid period (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Imagerie, &c.*, p. 8, n. 1).

[2] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Imagerie Phenicienne*, p. x.

[3] See also Fig. 252.

the principal dish ; the artist, however, only shows us the religious preliminaries.

"5. The hunter, seated on a portable throne and sheltered by an umbrella, invokes the blessing of the gods on the feast, and they, represented by the disks of the sun and moon, hang over the smoking meats.

"6. The feast ended, the hunter remounts his chariot to return home ; but at this moment he is attacked by a huge ape, which has been lying in wait for him while he ate. The hunter seems lost, ... but by a miracle the deity saves the faithful worshipper who has just shown himself so ready to fulfil his religious duties ; . . . . . she sweeps down and carries off hunter, driver, chariot and horses through the air.

"7. The ape's first attack thus defeated, the chariot is replaced on the ground and started in pursuit of the now flying beast, which is caught and overthrown.

"8. The hunter alights and gives the ape the *coup-de-grace*. A bird of prey hovers over the group and awaits its share of the spoil.

"9, This exploit finished, our hero remounts his chariot and returns to the castle he left in the morning."[1]

In order to bring the whole significance of the scene more vividly before the reader M. Clermont-Ganneau has cast it into the form of a playbill, dividing it into two acts and nine scenes and giving an orthodox *dramatis personæ* and description of the scenery. To thus penetrate the meaning of the artist required no slight acumen in the modern critic, but no such difficulty existed for contemporaries. Being quite familiar with such things, they could see at a glance what the decoration meant. They had no more hesitation in reading such a pictured story than a modern child has in understanding a set of plates to *Tom Thumb* or *Puss in Boots*.

It is more difficult to give a plausible explanation to the scenes in the centre medallion. That they have a definite meaning we believe with M. Clermont-Ganneau, but in the absence of any hint as to the sense of the tale here unfolded by the artist we are compelled to leave that meaning obscure. M. Clermont-

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU. *L'Imagerie phénicienne*, pp. xi., xii. Into this analysis, taken from M. Clermont-Ganneau's introduction, we have introduced certain details that are only to be found in his first chapter.

Ganneau thinks that perhaps there is a close connection between this central action and the narrative on the outer band, that one may be either the commencement or the *dénoûment* of the other.[1] In this, however, we must differ from him. We cannot see how the prologue or epilogue of the history we have narrated is to be found in the medallion.

Until the discovery of some bowl with the history, of which we here have only a part, upon it as a whole, we must, then, give up all hope of explaining the scenes used to fill up the centre of the second cup from Præneste. As for the zone on which eight pacing horses are figured, it may we think be looked upon as pure decoration ; and so too with the birds introduced into both zones. They are no more than the determinatives of sky, just as fishes were the determinatives of sea, or at least of water.[2]

We have spoken of this bowl at some length on account of its peculiar character ; we shall not dwell so long on the rest. The Præneste bowl is unique in its way ; it is the only one on which anything like a narrative can be traced, but it belongs to the same class as the cups on which single scenes from war, from the chase, or from ordinary life are figured. Among these we must give the first place to a silver platter discovered in Etruria, at Cære.

This platter formed part of the furniture of the very ancient tomb known as the *Regulini-Galassi tomb* (Fig. 268). The outer band—which, for want of room, we have been unable to reproduce—represents a parade of chariots, horsemen and foot-soldiers ; in the central medallion, between four papyrus stems, the determinatives of water, we see a bull attacked by two lions ; above the group hovers a bird of prey. But the most curious zone is the one embracing this medallion. It represents a lion hunt, and by a glance at our engraving our readers will see how the artist has done his work better than we can tell them in words. An interesting detail is the group between two palm trees, which shows us a man seizing a rampant lion by the tongue while he buries his falchion in its side. This group is Mesopotamian in character, but on the other head, the lion at the top of our woodcut, with his paw on the head of an overthrown hunter, is quite Egyptian. Much the same group and gesture is to be met with on a detail of furniture from the Ramessid period

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU. *L'Imagerie phénicienne*, p. 150. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 42-43.

(Fig. 269): there, however, the lion is superseded by a sphinx. Finally, one whole zone of a Cypriot cup, which we are about to describe, is occupied by the same motive (Fig. 270), with this difference, that sphinxes are alternated with griffins.

On the bowl from Cære there is not a single element that is not taken from real life, from the slaying of the bull in the centre



FIG. 268.—Part of a silver platter. Actual size. From Griffi.[1]

to the vengeance taken for his murder by the hunters. The artist has reproduced an incident of pastoral life which is common enough in regions infested by wild beasts. In Mesopotamia, Loftus and Layard assisted at such a hunt more than once, and

[1] *Monimenti di Cære antica*, plate v. fig. 1.

the same thing occurs in those parts of Algeria from which the great carnivora have not yet disappeared.

Upon other examples we find scenes from real life mixed up with fantastic compositions. On a cup from Dali, now in the Louvre (Fig. 270), there is a lion hunt, but on the same zone the griffin also appears. The incidents on this bowl have no sequence ; there are two actors, each six times repeated ; the one short, bearded, and robed in the lion's skin ; the other taller, long-haired, and with no garments but the schenti and a double necklace, like a Theban king. There is plenty of variety, no group is twice repeated, and in one we find a motive of which we can point to no example elsewhere, the shorter hero, who supports

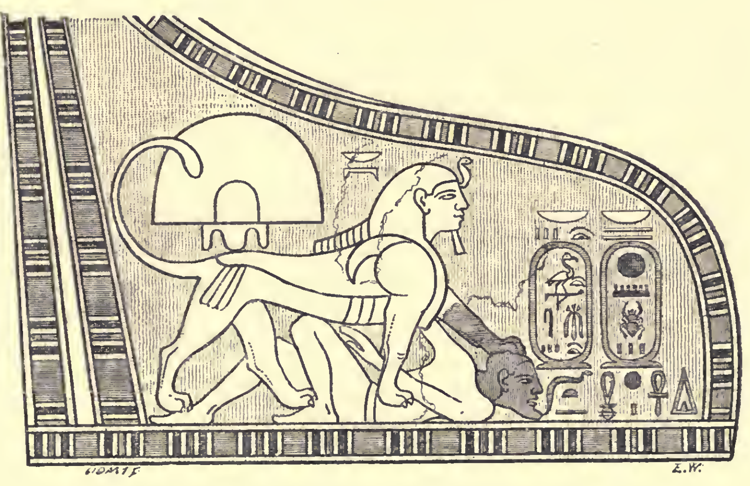


FIG. 269.—Detail of Egyptian furniture. From Prisse d'Avenues.

a dead lioness across his shoulders with his right hand, holds a bird, apparently a crane, by the neck with his left.

The inner frieze is composed in the same spirit, while the central medallion contains the oft-encountered group of a Pharaoh with his mace and bow ; here he stands upon the winged globe and raises his mace over kneeling enemies, whom he holds by the hair.

The cup of Amathus (Fig. 271) was discovered in the necropolis of that city by General di Cesnola[1] It is a hemispherical plate of silver, five millimetres thick, with a strengthen-

[1] See CECCALDI (*Monuments antiques de Cypre*, chap. iv.) for a complete list of objects found in this tomb.

ing edge rising four millimetres above the rest of the surface. The figures are chased and *repoussé*, the contours being strengthened by fine burin lines. Nearly half the plate has been destroyed by oxidation.



FIG. 270.—Patera from Dali. Diameter 7⅝ inches. Louvre.[1]

The centre is an eight pointed rosette. Round that runs a frieze of winged sphinxes with the uræus and an oval disk upon their heads. A double cable separates this zone from the next,

[1] From LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoléon III.* plate xi.

which is filled with motives borrowed from Egypt, scarabs and adoring hawk-headed personages mounted upon pedestals of Egyptian profile. Another figure, with outspread wings, stands in worship before the child Horus, who is seated upon an open lotus-flower.[1] To this group succeeds one which we might almost believe to have been copied from a Ninevite relief; two male figures stand facing each other, but separated by the sacred tree; the raised hand of each holds a lotus flower, but in the other appears the Osiride symbol, the *crux ansata*. This same symbol is held by the next figure, and by young Horus before Isis and Nephtys. Finally, the group through which the fracture runs appears to have been a repetition of the scarab group.

But the most interesting zone is the outer one, in which some have wished to see a representation of the siege of Amathus, in 500, by the Greeks of the island under Onesilaus.[2] This hypothesis is by no means impossible, but the reasons adduced so far in support of it have no kind of force. The town fortifications are figured in an entirely conventional manner, as in an Assyrian relief; there is the same want of true proportion between men and buildings; the defenders of the place are taller than the towers they guard. The assailants on the right have been thought to be Greek warriors, and in some particulars their costume seems to bear out that idea; but then one of the besieged wears the very helmet and bears the very shield on the strength of which the besiegers are supposed to be Greeks. The men attacking on the left have all the look of Africans; they are half naked, and their small shields with salient bosses can hardly be of anything but wickerwork. The men cutting trees are dressed like Egyptians, while the archers would not surprise us if we found them on an Assyrian bas-relief; finally the galloping horsemen wear the ovoid cap of so many Cypriot statues. A biga, of which only the front remains, is in its natural place, for we know how important a part such chariots played in the Cypriot battles.

On the whole we think it probable that the artist who engraved this bowl did not mean to represent any particular historical scene, but to give a general picture of war, and to show all the forces engaged either in attacking a city or in other operations; Greek hoplites, Assyrian archers, Cypriot cavalry, light armed

[1] This same motive occurs on the bowl from Salerno.

[2] CECCALDI, *Monuments antiques de Cypre*, pp. 146, 147.



FIG 271.—The Amathus patera. New York Museum.



Africans, all are brought together into this narrow space, for no more definite purpose than the amusement of the spectator.

On a bowl from Dali (Fig. 272) we find, not a warlike operation but a military promenade, perhaps a triumph analagous to those sculptured on the walls of so many Theban temples.[1]

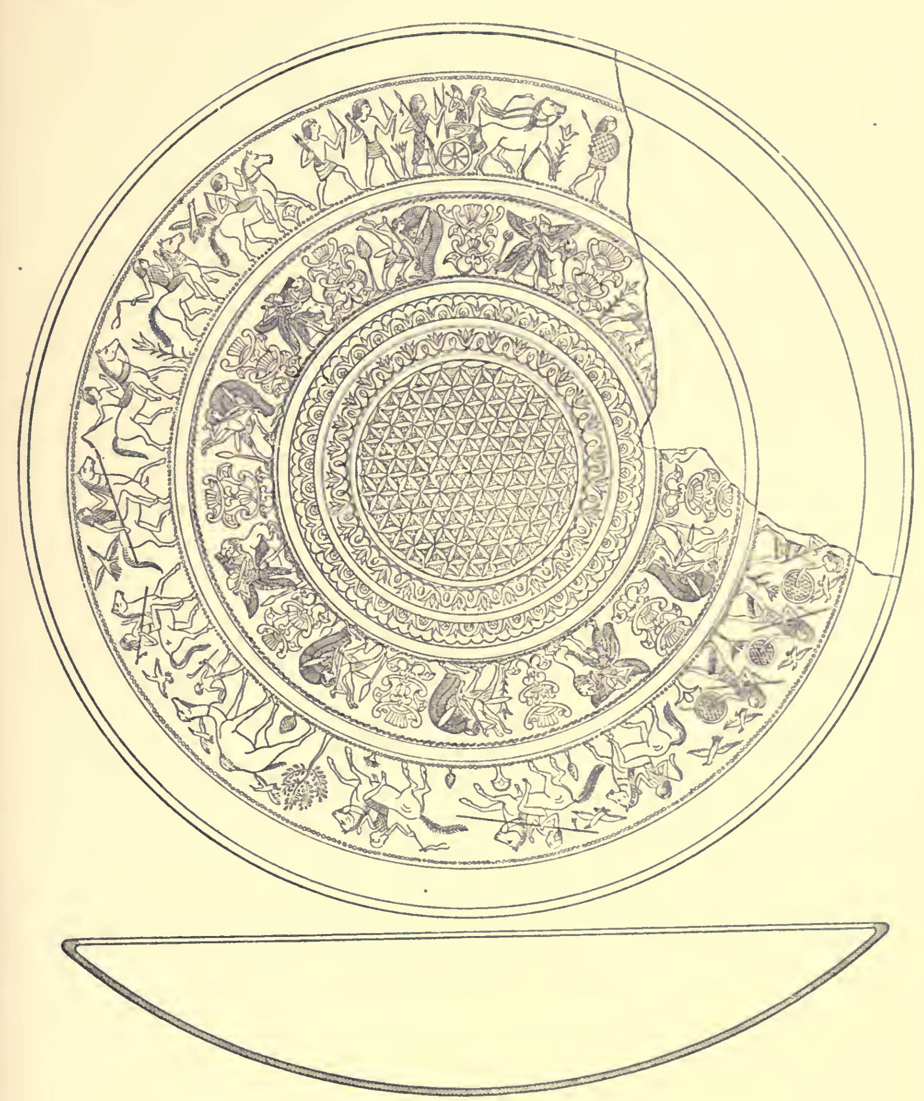


FIG. 272.—Patera from Dali. Diameter 9⅛ inches. Louvre.

The most important group in the procession is that immediately to the left of the fracture. Here we may recognise the king, in Egyptian costume, standing upright in his chariot; behind him

[1] See *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I. Fig. 254.

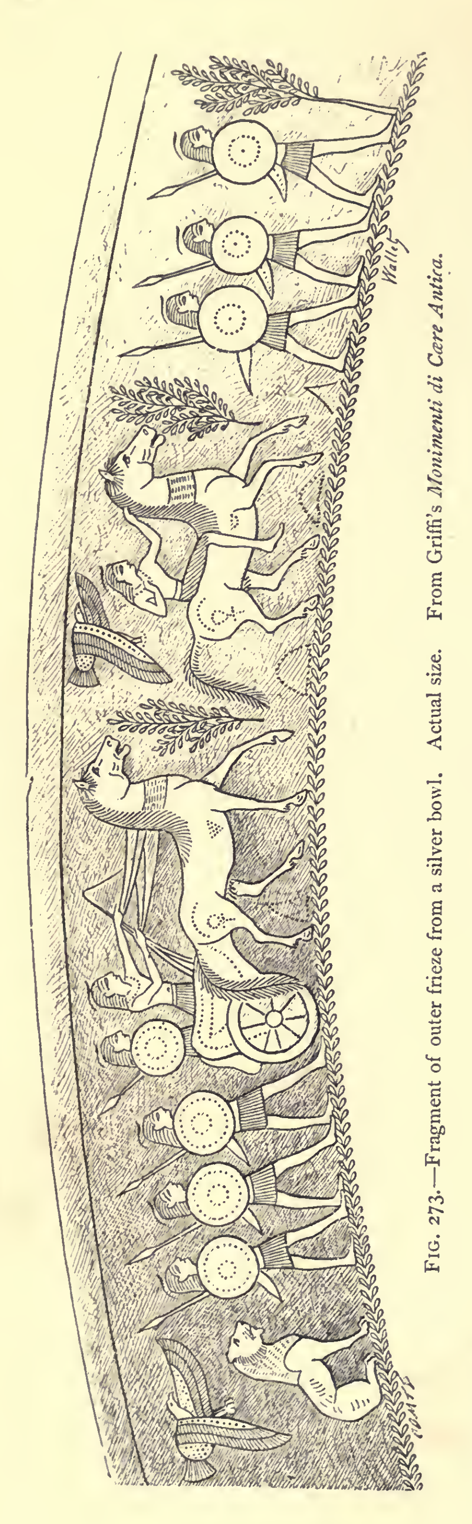


FIG. 273.—Fragment of outer frieze from a silver bowl. Actual size. From Griffi's *Monimenti di Cære Antica.*

march three servants bearing his bows, arrows and lances. The three horsemen who come next have no arms. They carry nothing but whips, with which they seem to urge on their steeds; we may look upon them as grooms with the king's spare horses. The next two horsemen are combatants, for they are armed with long lances. Next comes a camel led by a half-naked servant, then more horsemen, and the defile closes with infantrymen armed with the lance and a circular shield; on the part preserved there is nothing to mark the head of the procession; perhaps the fragment which has perished contained some indication of the sort.

Representations of this kind were popular both with artists and their clients. We give a fragment from the external zone of a silver cup of a different shape from that of the bowls we have been discussing (Fig. 273); it is much deeper; it comes from the ancient tomb at Cære from which we have already taken more than one example.

Religious scenes are also to be met with here, as, for instance, in the case of another patera from Dali (Fig. 206). We may, perhaps, take this as the oldest of all these monuments. The

ornament is more simple in its decoration than on any other cup; there is only one band of figures, the centre being occupied with a rosette surrounded by a plain band. The acts of worship figured belong in all probability to the rites of Astarte-Aphrodite, as they were celebrated in the Dali temple. There are grounds for identifying the robed and enthroned female figure with that goddess. The peristyle of the temple is hinted at by columns rising between the personages on the left of our engraving; with their lotiform capitals and the bands tied about them at about the middle of their height, these columns are quite Egyptian in their physiognomy.[1]

There is nothing taken from a non-natural world in the cup just mentioned, if we except the goddess; but the fantastic re-appears in a monument now in the Varvakeion Museum, at Athens (Fig. 274). To *savants* the most interesting thing about this vase is the inscription engraved upon its under-side; it has been read thus: *To Nagid, son of Mepha.* The characters are Aramæan and apparently less ancient than those on the Nimroud cups; they might fairly be attributed to the sixth century. This, however, must wait for future decision; the interesting point to us is the decoration. Here, as on the Dali patera, there is but one figured frieze, which runs about a large eight-pointed rosette. This frieze is divided into eight compartments; four single male and female figures alternating with as many scenes of worship. The two female figures represent the naked goddess pressing her breasts, whom we have already met so often; the male is bearded and robed in a tight-fitting garment; we do not know what name to give him.

The four scenes of worship are as follows: In the first, Isis-Hathor suckles the young Horus before an altar on which rests the lunar disk enveloped in a crescent. A person of uncertain sex stands behind the altar with a patera in one hand and the *crux ansata* in the other. To this scene there is a pendant with some slight changes; the altar is of a different form; the goddess is without the child; she holds out a patera instead. In a third compartment we see three musicians playing respectively the lyre, the double flute and the tambourine; the one with the tambourine

[1] This cup was found at Dali, at the bottom of a small rectangular cavity in the floor of a sepulchral chamber; a hatchet and a lance-head were found with it (CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 72-78).

is dancing vigorously. The fourth and last compartment contains a group already encountered, in part at least, on one of the Dali bowls (Fig. 272). An individual in a conical cap and quasi-Assyrian skirt threatens a winged griffin with a kind of pike; the animal flinging his hind quarters into the air at the same moment in a kind of despairing caper. A second individual with a spear



FIG. 274.—Patera in the Varvakeion Museum, Athens. Diameter 8 inches.

seems to stand ready to help the first. He also wears a long robe and a conical cap, the latter with a pendant tail like that of a cow.[1]

[1] This detail escaped Euting. He took the griffin, too, for a lion, and so fell into a mistake over the wing, which he thought was the spur of a ship appearing from

In all this Egyptian models dominate, but there are one or two figures, especially the robed god and the two heroes who struggle with the griffin, of which the prototype does not come from Egypt. In Fig. 275 we reproduce part of the inner zone of the silver cup of which we gave a fragment of the outer band in Fig. 273. Here the Egyptian character of the scene is more marked. The principal motive seems to be copied from an Egyptian stele. In our opinion it represents the survivors of a family bringing drink to their dead. The two women on the left are identical with those we find in Egyptian tombs, where they personify the domains of the defunct and bring him gifts.[1]

In this same position the *orfèvre* appears sometimes to have introduced feasts given by the living. On the outer zone of a bronze cup already mentioned we find the representation of a

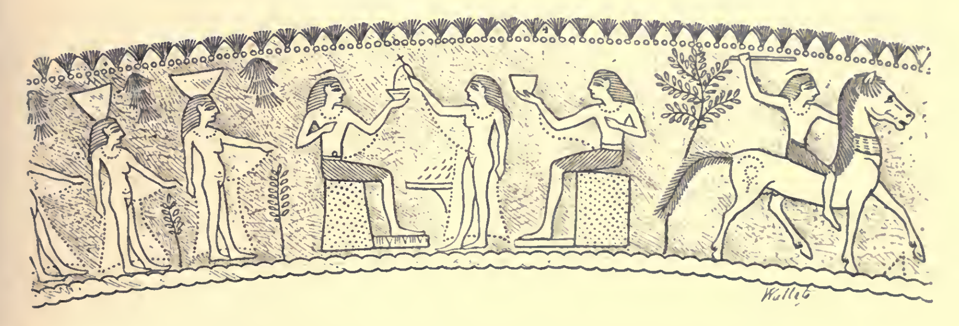


FIG. 275.—Part of the decoration of a silver cup. From Griffi.

scene like that on the Amathus sarcophagus (Fig. 144). A crater stands upon a tripod and servants hover about it; some seated figures are drinking; others sit upon couches; one embraces a woman; another has raised a woman in his arms.[2] Cypriot artists must have had a great liking for such scenes. There is, among the objects found in the island, a whole series of erotic, not to say obscene, pictures. Some of these we have seen in private collections, and the New York Museum might easily form a *secret cabinet* with those it possesses. Of course we cannot reproduce any of them here, but it was important to mention

behind the group. In this same compartment there is a small drilled hole which must have been made to receive a string for suspension.

[1] Compare them with those in *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. Fig. 230.

[2] AL. DI CESNOLA, *Salaminia*, pp. 53-55 and fig. 53.

their existence because they afford a strong corroboration of what history tells us as to the character of Cypriot society.

We have now mentioned all the most interesting of these cups or bowls; all those, that is, on which some popular fable, or some incident of real life, is figured. In almost every case realistic and fantastic elements are mixed up together; it is the proportion only



FIG. 276.—Patera from Curium. New York Museum. Diameter 8 inches.

that varies. Look for instance at this silver-gilt cup from Curium (Fig. 276); we may take it as an example of the predominence of what we have called empty forms.

In the centre we find the everlasting group of a winged genius subduing a lion (Fig. 272). In the principal zone, the outermost, the artist has brought together almost all the motives we have

encountered upon other cups, sometimes occupying the place of honour in the centre, sometimes distributed in the concentric circles. The king brandishing his mace over the heads of his foes; the hawk-headed god blessing his victory; heroes slaying monsters; two griffins facing each other from either side of a palmette; a winged woman, thoroughly Egyptian in style and costume, holding two lotus flowers.

Here there is enough apparent variety; but all these motives are no more than the current patterns of the Phœnician workshop; the artist seems to have set himself to lavish all his stock upon a single object. But even here, upon the intermediate zone, we find what we are tempted to look upon as a connected scene from pastoral life, copied from nature. The only fictitious being that figures in it is the sphinx, close to which we see two royal *cartouches*, as if engraved upon a wall. The sphinx may well have been introduced for no deeper reason than to show that the scene is the Nile valley. Horses and bulls feed peaceably side by side; two bulls fight with each other; a cow suckles her calf; but the lion, too, is there to trouble repose.

In all this was our artist directly inspired, or did he merely repeat the stock ideas of the workshop? The latter, evidently; for even in the comparatively small number of examples we possess, we find all that occurs here repeated again and again, with perhaps, the single exception of the fighting bulls. The group of the cow with her calf, is taken from the art of the Nile valley, as our readers may convince themselves by looking at our Fig. 277, in which a medallion from the centre of a silver bowl found at Cære is reproduced. Here we find the same tender scene going on in a papyrus brake, which is quite enough to betray the Egyptian origin of the motive.

Beside these elaborate bowls the workshops of Tyre, of Kition and of Carthage, must have turned out vast numbers of a simpler and cheaper kind. Some of these had no decoration but papyrus stems, placed at exactly equal intervals, with a few stags and birds walking and flying among them.[1]

A silver cup from Cameiros has a rosette in the middle and a garland of lotus flowers round the edge; between the rosette and the garland some Egyptian ovals, singularly awkward in execution, are introduced. These designs are on a layer of gold which only

[1] See CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 316, 336.

partly covers the cup.[1] Sometimes forms taken from the animal kingdom are found upon the cups without figures, but they are only used in a fragmentary way, and for the sake of their agreeable curves. As an instance of this we may quote a silver cup (Fig. 278), to which attention has been drawn mainly by the inscription it bears; this is the name of the proprietor; it is cut near the edge in Aramæan characters, whence the cup is believed to be of comparatively modern date. Experts tell us that the writing belongs to the Achæmenid period, or the fifth century, B.C.

The aspect of the decoration is different from that on any of the vases hitherto described, but the general form and the methods



FIG. 277.—Central medallion from a cup. From Griffi.

of execution are such that we are justified in adding this monument to the series of which we have been speaking. Its place of discovery was unique enough; it was found in the Caucasus; but none the less do we believe it to be of Phœnician or at least of Syrian, origin. The centre is occupied by a salient boss, into the hollow underside of which any one holding the cup could put his finger. Round this is repeated six times a not inelegant ornament made up of two swan's heads and a double palmette. The relief is high throughout.

Phœnician workers in metal were not content to produce nothing

[1] This cup is in the Gem Room of the British Museum; it is in poor preservation.

but these cups. If they have come down to our time in far greater numbers than anything else of the kind, it is because they were protected by their shape; they are almost flat; they have neither feet nor handles; they offer far fewer weak points to destroying agencies than hollower vessels and vessels with many projections. The variety of forms made use of in Phœnician *orfèvrerie* is attested by figured representations and by texts, as well as by actual finds.



FIG. 278.—Silver Patera. Diameter 8 inches.

Take, for instance, the tomb of Rekhmarah (Fig. 266). You find a two-handled bucket with a goat's head on the lid, you find amphoræ with boldly swelling sides, craters with wide mouths and double handles, œnochoés, rhytons, cups with stems, and even those curious horn-shaped goblets which we shall again encounter in Greece, but only at Thera and Ialysos. The two passages of Homer already quoted prove that the large craters which we see in the paintings of feasts were bought from the Phœnicians. Moreover, in the same tombs and other places as the cups we

have described, fragments of vessels of other sizes and shapes have very often been found.[1]

Although of different size and form all these objects must have come from the same workshops; their identity of origin is betrayed by many details to which the eye of the archæologist cannot be blind. Thus the birds which float over the horses are found both in the Palestrina cup and in the silver-gilt crater which was found with it.[2]

Cesnola brought some very curious fragments from Cyprus which must have formed part of some great bronze vessel, either a large *crater* or a *lebes.* The body has disappeared; nothing remains but the handles and the circular rim of the mouth. The latter were fixed with nails, some of which may still be traced (Fig. 280). The rim was laid flat round the top of the vase; on it a skilful hand has chiselled a troop of bulls stampeding before lions (Fig. 279). As for the handles, they were adorned with images of quite a different character. On each there are three pairs of very strange animals indeed. These are lions with a fish-skin on their backs, like the Assyrian Anou.[3] They stand on their hind legs and face each other, holding ewers of very graceful shape in their fore-paws. Below them the metal plaque swells into a kind of disk, so as to afford a larger surface for attachment to the body of the vase. On this disk the artist has introduced three bull's heads.

In all these metal vessels the handles are carefully made and designed. Sometimes they are ornamented with graceful palmettes and with figures of animals, as we see them on that great

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pp. 325-330. HELBIG E FABIANI, *Annali*, 1876; article already quoted; and *Monimenti*, vol. x. plates xxxi. xxxi a. xxxii. xxxiii. Also HELBIG E FABIANI, *Annali*, 1879, *Oggetti trovati in una tomba prenestina* (seconda serie), pp. 1-23; *Monimenti*, vol. xi. pl. ii.; GRIFI, *Monimenti di Cære antica*, pl. v. and vii. HELBIG (*Bullettino*, 1879, p. 251) also points out two vases from Chiusi, in Etruria, as belonging to this category; one has now disappeared, while the other belongs to the museum at Florence. The former was of silver; the one in the Uffizi is of silver-gilt. Among the things found during the excavations at Salamis, there was a bronze bucket with Egyptian figures upon it (AL. DI CESNOLA, *Salaminia*, p. 60). In M. LE CLERCQ's collection there is a fine bronze vase from Paphos. It is a kind of crater. The palmettes on the handles are very like those on the great stone cauldron of the Louvre. On these same handles there are rams very like those on some of the ancient Cypriot money.

[2] *Monimenti*, vol. x. pl. xxxiii.

[3] Our Fig. 280 is from a photograph of the best preserved handle of the two; the only fragment of the other which remains is shown in Fig. 279.

stone crater in which we recognized the copy of a similar object in metal (Figs. 21 and 23). In some cases they end in a simple finial of very good proportion and happy design. The one here reproduced (Fig. 281) must have belonged to some great bronze vase. On the other hand, in the smaller silver vessels found at Curium, the handles were of extreme simplicity in design but of a graceful curve.

A cup without a foot and with swelling sides recalls certain silver vases found in Egypt (Fig. 285). The Phœnicain artisans understood how to get a good effect by the combination of different materials. In one of the subterranean chambers in the temple of

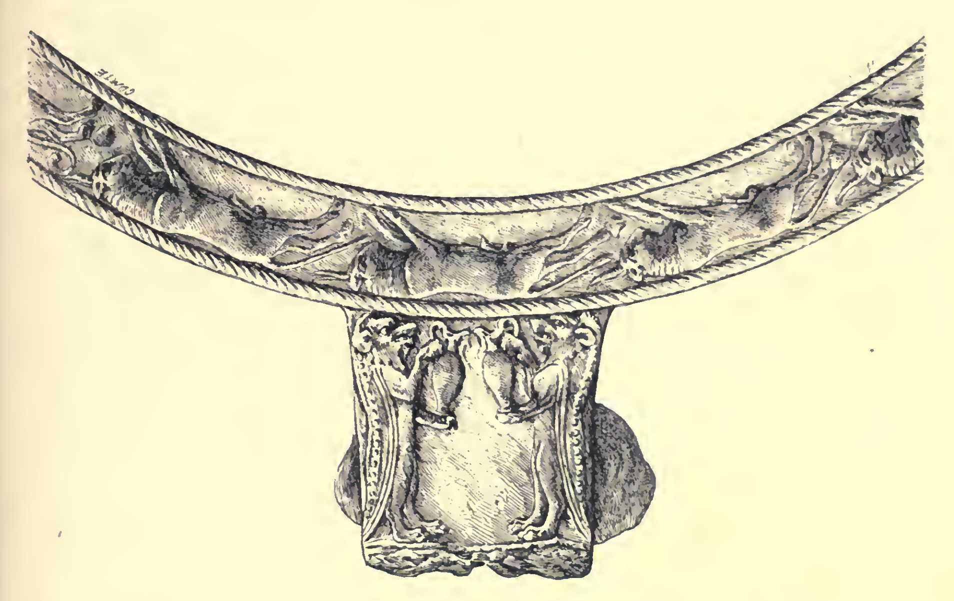


FIG. 279.—Part of the rim and handle of a bronze vessel. New York Museum. Diameter of the vessel's mouth 16 inches.

Curium three alabastrons in rock crystal were found. The largest of the three had a gold stopper and lid, the latter attached to the vase by a light chain of the same metal (Fig. 286). The agate head of a sceptre was found in the same place; it must once have been mounted either in silver or gold. Another object (Fig. 287) found in the same *cachette* may have been the end of a sceptre; it is a bronze tube ending in three bull's heads. Here the material is commoner in itself, but it was embellished with crystals and gems.

In this our study of that Phœnician metal-work which was so

famous in the time of Homer, we have only drawn attention to the more important examples, to those which may be considered as types. The reader now has before his eyes the more significant of these vessels with the explanations, often conjectural, to which their ornaments give rise, and the descriptions of those which do not invite explanation. We have yet to give a glance at the products of Phœnician workshops as a whole ; to give an account of the conditions under which this industry was followed, and of the methods it employed ; to describe its defects and merits ; finally, to ascertain how prolific the Phœnician *ateliers* were, and how great the quantity of objects they exported may have been. This done, we shall be able to appreciate the influence such objects may have had upon those who admired and bought them, upon the progress of art, in fact, and upon the development of ideas.

The first thing to strike us is that perpetual mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian forms to which we have already pointed as a leading characteristic of Phœnician art (Figs. 270, 271, 274). It was from Egypt, however, that by far the most was borrowed. This is shown by the continual occurrence of hieroglyphs, royal ovals, &c, ; while no cuneiform letters have yet been encountered. The latter were known to Phœnicia, but the bonds uniting her to Egypt were much tighter than those drawing her to Assyria. The Assyrians appeared later on the scene, and they appeared as enemies, as hard and greedy conquerors. Egypt, on the other hand, was the first instructress of Phœnicia, who, to the end, accepted her supremacy, and was amply repaid for her docility by the profit the connection brought her. But perhaps the principal reason was simply that the hieroglyphs were far more decorative than the wedges, far better adapted to pleasantly fill a space. Finally, it was Egypt that set the fashions—if I may use such a phrase—in the East until the rise of Miletus, Corinth, and Athens. In covering their metal work with motives taken from the Nile valley the Phœnicians ministered to a prevailing taste and profited by the vogue of all things Egyptian.

In these days such counterfeits do not deceive us. Hieroglyphs with a sense to them are very rare on Phœnician monuments. As a rule the artisans of Tyre and Carthage copied the first letters they hit upon, just as those of the middle ages copied Arabic inscriptions, or the potters of Delft copied Chinese figures and characters. Nowhere do hieroglyphs occupy a more important



FIG. 280.—Handle of a bronze vessel. Height $9\frac{1}{5}$ inches. New York Museum.



place than on the bowl of Esmunjair (Vol. I. Fig. 36), and this is what Maspero says about them : " These signs do not form any connected text. Symbols and even words are strung together without any thought as to their signification ; *to weep, king of*

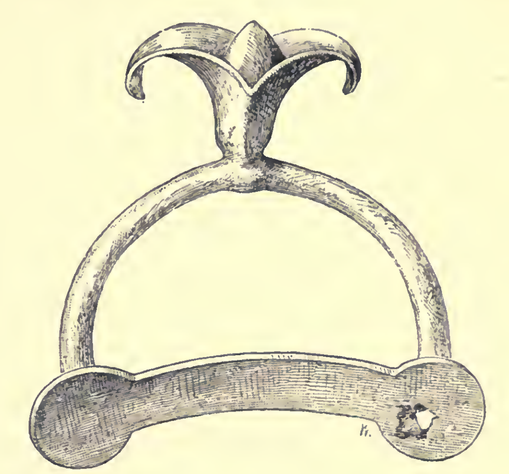


FIG. 281.—Handle of a vase. In the New York Museum.

the two Egypts, and so on. Here and there the engraver has foisted in the letter formed by two upright plumes, just for the sake of symmetry. The symbols in the cartouches are quite untranslateable. . . . The hieroglyphs are good in style, but the



FIGS. 282, 283, 284.—Silver ewers. From Cesnola.

engraver has disfigured a group or symbol here and there. The decoration as a whole, and the shapes of the letters, recall the style of the twenty-sixth dynasty."[1]

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars. i. p. 216. In his notes to M. Renan's article in the *Gazette Archéologique* of 1876 (p. 15), MASPERO makes a remark which is not without importance, namely, that the engraver of this cup has made use of none of those symbols which appear only in inscriptions later than the twenty-sixth dynasty, an indication of no slight antiquity.

The Phœnician workman must have had pattern-books from which these designs were taken. When he received an order for any vessel of bronze or silver he would determine upon the shape, and then choose from his stock of designs such subjects as might

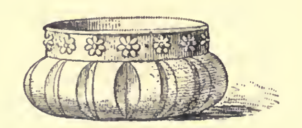


FIG. 285.—Silver cup. From Cesnola.[1]

seem to him well fitted for the work in hand and for the commissioning client. On one vessel he would put a hunt, on another a religious function, a scene from pastoral life, or a military promenade. All these things were composed with a certain

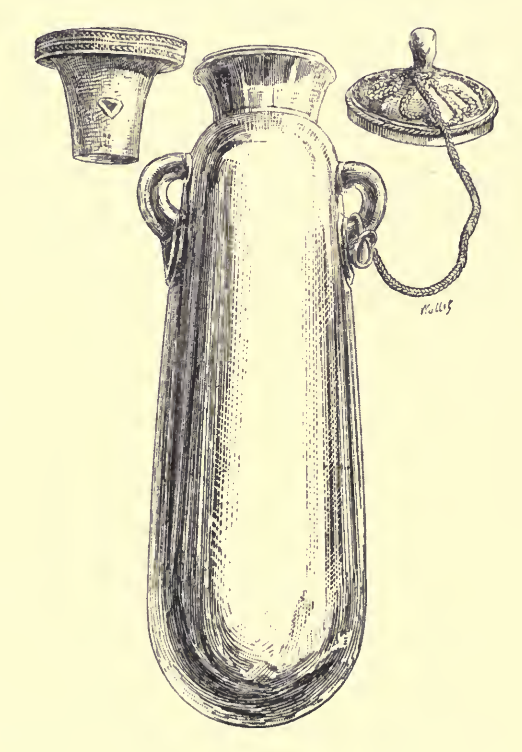


FIG. 286.—Alabastron in rock crystal. From Cesnola.[2]

amount of taste and variety; only their elements were borrowed. Neither in Assyria nor in the Mediterranean basin have two cups been found which could be said to be copied one from

[1] *Cyprus*, plate xxi. [2] *Ibid.* p. 325.

another. But, as we have already pointed out, separate details often resemble each other so strongly as to seem traced from one and the same original.

From an industry carried on in this fashion it would be absurd to expect the careful and loving workmanship we get from an original and creative art. Many cups bear unequivocal signs of haste. Here an arm is wanting, there a leg. Mistakes of this kind



FIG. 287.—Sceptre-head in agate. From Cesnola.[1]

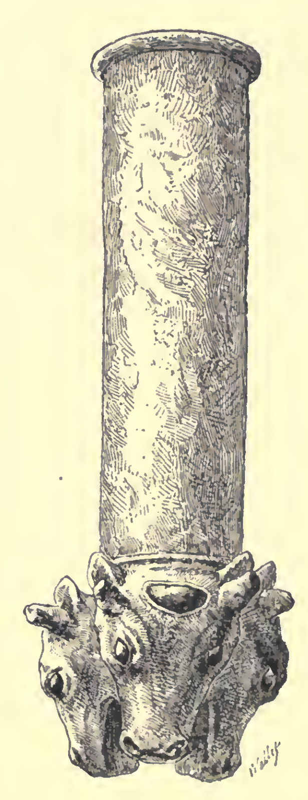


FIG. 288.—Sceptre-head in bronze. From Cesnola.[2]

are to be found in nearly every specimen. And they are only to be explained by the moments of lassitude and distraction inevitable in work that is no more than copying. For the artist knew his business; his hand was free and sure; the contours it traced were easy and natural. With very few exceptions all his figures are in profile, as in those Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs from which his

[1] *Cyprus*, p. 309.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 310.

first lessons were taken.[1] It would be too much to say that his drawing has true originality, but it is easily distinguished from that of a Memphite or Saite, of a Babylonian or Ninevite artist. It has more body and decision than the Egyptian style of the decadence, the only one by which it can have been inspired. The Phœnician artist drew some benefit from the example of every predecessor and neighbour; in his latest things he may even have drawn lessons from the early art of Greece. Some of his works show an ease and correctness of design which gives this conjecture no slight probability.

However this may be, it is certain that, in spite of a certain commonplaceness, the style of these Phœnician artists is an advance upon the same thing in Egypt. Is it enough to account for this difference to suppose that Assyria taught them what they did not learn from Egypt, or must we admit that Greece, too, counted for something in the progress made? Before this question can be answered we must wait, perhaps, until more remains are discovered. But in any case the childish conventions and *naïve* distortions of the human body which occur in Egyptian art even as late as the New Empire, are not to be found here. Limbs are more skilfully attached; the draughtsman has a better idea of the changes their contours present with this or that movement of the trunk; the eye is no longer drawn in front in a head seen in profile. If attitudes are simple and as a rule but little varied, they are at least easy and natural. Horsemen for instance sit well down in their saddles. As for horses themselves, they are well rendered, they have more breadth and truth than on the Theban pylons. The lion, too, received fuller and more accented forms from the Phœnician workman than from the Egyptian sculptor; he is, in fact, a descendant from the admirable lions of Assyria.

These observations have been mainly suggested by the bowls or plates reproduced in this chapter, but they apply to almost as great an extent to vessels of larger dimensions, like the craters of Præneste and Cære. Such monuments as these are much less numerous, but even among them degrees of excellence and differences of execution can be distinguished. On a patera from

[1] One of these exceptions occurs in the second cup from Præneste (Fig. 267). The goddess who carries off the hunter and his chariot is shown full face. So too are the two divinities introduced on the cup in the Varvakeion Museum (Fig. 274).

Dali, for instance, the design is rude and awkward (Fig. 306); rightly or wrongly it gives the impression of a very ancient, almost primitive work. On the other hand, in two cups from the same place and now in the Louvre (Figs. 270 and 272), in the two cups from Præneste (Vol. I. Fig. 36, and above, Fig. 267), in those from Amathus (Fig. 271) and Curium (Fig. 276) and in the mounts of the bronze crater from Cyprus (Fig. 279), the art of the Phœnician chaser and engraver arrived at its apogee. In the cups and craters found at Cære the execution, which is very careful in its way, is yet cold and heavy; the artist has followed his Egyptian models with a hand to which freedom is yet a stranger (Figs. 273 and 275).

These differences are easily explained. The industry in question lasted many centuries and flourished at many points in the Phœnician world; in Phœnicia proper; in Kition and, no doubt, in other Cypriot towns; at Carthage. There is every ground for believing that certain cups found on the banks of the Tigris are of Phœnician workmanship. Among the cups found in Cyprus there are some on which motives appear that remind us of certain monuments of Cypriot sculpture; it is likely that they were made in the island itself by Phœnician artisans. The inscription on the cup of Palestrina shows certain peculiarities which lead us to believe that it was engraved in Africa, at Carthage, rather than in Syria.[1] The other cup from Præneste (Fig. 267), betrays its origin by a still more significant feature; one of the personages of the little drama figured upon it is a great anthropomorphic and troglodyte ape, in which naturalists recognize an inhabitant of the African continent with whom the Carthaginians must have become acquainted in the course of those explorations they pushed as far as the Gaboon. Who does not remember the passage in the *Periplus of Hanno*, in which the traveller speaks of "women covered with hair and called by interpreters gorillas"?[2] Three of them were killed by the sailors and their skins taken to Carthage, where they were deposited in a temple, to remain there until the capture of the city by the Romans.[3] The males, says the author of the *Periplus*, defended themselves so well by throwing

[1] RENAN, *Patère d'argent Phénicienne découverte à Palestrina* (*Gazette Archéologique* 1877, p. 18).

[2] *Periplus*, § 18.

[3] PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 36.

stones and by climbing inaccessible rocks, that none of them were taken or even approached.

Whether at Sidon or Tyre, in Cyprus or at Carthage, the Phœnician workman no doubt made use of analogous processes and employed the same ideas and images; but in the long run differences of time and place must have caused many changes. On its southern and eastern frontiers Phœnicia proper was in contact with Egypt and Assyria, so it is likely that the influence of Oriental art was felt longer within her borders than elsewhere; on the other hand, Cyprus was full of Greeks, and Carthage imported architects and medallists from Sicily at a very early date.

Such influences had plenty of time in which to develop and even to change their direction, for the manufacture of these vessels lasted for at least five or six centuries. They are found in the ruins of that palace of Nimroud, which dates from the ninth century, or from about the same time as those Homeric poems in which the works of the Phœnician artists are praised. In later years, when Greek artists had learnt their trade, the Phœnicians had to draw in their horns, at least in that eastern basin of the Mediterranean which had formed the early field of their activity; but in the west they kept up the contest for one or two centuries more, to the profit chiefly of Carthage. From the eighth to the sixth century the great African city had in Latium and Etruria a certain market for her bronzes and ivories, for her jewelry, her smith's work, and her glass. In the course of the fifth century Hellenic art made rapid encroachments, and in the fourth its superiority had become so thoroughly acknowledged and established that competition was no longer possible. The engraved platters that have come down to us may, then, be distributed over the years intervening between 1000 and 400 B.C.; we incline to think that the finest period was in the seventh and sixth centuries, when conditions, at all events, were most favourable. It must be remembered that those which have made their way into our museums are but a small part even of the platters that have been actually encountered in the excavations, for in numberless cases these things were found in such a condition of oxidation that they could not be moved without falling into dust, and besides, not a few were sold as old metal and destroyed by ignorant peasants before systematic exploration began. We may fairly say that the few scores of bowls now in existence and bearing images which

can still be traced, represent thousands which never ceased for centuries to issue from Syrian workshops, and to spread themselves over the whole antique world, from Nineveh to the Caucasus, from Cyprus to Præneste and Cære.

On a future occasion we shall have to return to these cups, and inquire what influence they may have had on the Greeks and on the early development of their arts, an influence which was not even suspected fifty years ago, but now, perhaps, runs some chance of being exaggerated. At present we shall be content with drawing attention to the hints which may have been given by their central medallions to the artists to whom we owe the beautiful coinage of Greece.[1]

Phœnicia had a good deal to do with the invention of money, and we shall presently see how; but there is little enough in common between these well-formed platters and the shapelessness of those stamped ingots of gold and silver which formed the first coins. Once the idea was conceived, however, progress was rapid. The little piece of metal was rounded, spread out and decorated; it was then that the medallist might turn to the Phœnician smith. The disk on which he worked was unlike that in the centre of a Phœnician platter only in size. The subjects that suited one suited the other, and in many cases we even find a type on a coin which has appeared before as one of these centres. We may give as examples the hero fighting with a lion, or some other beast or monster, the lion bringing down a bull, and the cow suckling her calf. If the archæologist would follow up the inquiry at which we must here be content to hint, he would without doubt make more than one important discovery; and indeed the whole question of the influence of Phœnician metal working upon the art of Greece has yet to be followed out and brought from a condition of conjecture and hypothesis to one of demonstration.

§ 5.—*Jewelry.*

The boundary line between *orfèvrerie* and jewelry is not always easy to trace. There are certain objects which partake almost equally of both characters, such as pectorals and diadems of beaten metal, of gold, silver, or bronze. We here figure a pectoral now in the Louvre, which consists of a very thin plate of beaten bronze

[1] See M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Imagerie Phenicienne*, p. xxxvi.

(Fig. 289). From its triangular form we may divine that its proper place was the breast of some Phœnician priest. The edge is pierced with a number of very small holes, through which it must have been sewn to the dress.[1] In the Assyrian reliefs we find more than one example of ornament like this. The motives, too, are familiar. The border is the cable borrowed from Assyria by Phœnicia (Vol. I. Fig. 76), while the field is occupied by a palmette and by those combats of real and factitious animals of which Phœnician decorators made such frequent use. The figures are beaten out and chiselled, and then finished with the burin ; traces of gilding are still to be recognized.

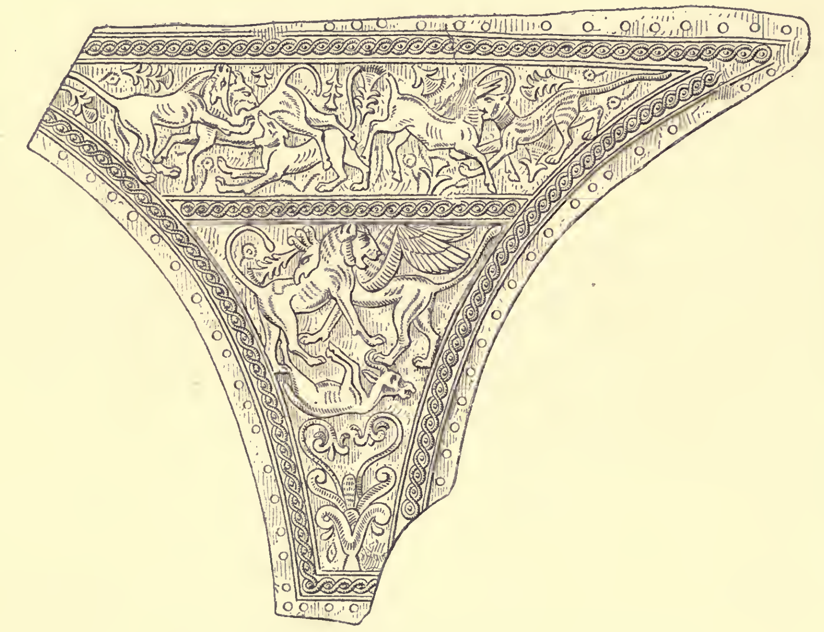


Fig. 289.—Bronze Pectoral. Height 4⅝ inches. Louvre.[2]

A pectoral of quite the same character has been found in Etruria, in a tomb at Cære. It consists, however, of a gold instead of a bronze plate. A diadem of gold, of similar character, was found in the same tomb.[3]

It is difficult to say whether the kind of broach (Figs. 290 and 291) found by M. Renan in one of the graveyards of Phœnicia is

[1] This object was in the Salt collection, which was formed at Alexandria, and contained things both of Syrian and Egyptian origin.

[2] From LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoléon III.*, plate xxxi. fig. 4.

[3] GRIFFI, *Monimenti di Cære antica*, plates i. and ii.

a personal ornament or a furniture decoration. It represents a full face with a bust below it, in which we seem to recognize indications of female breasts. The workmanship seems to aim at nobility, although it is too heavy and awkward quite to reach it. The staples used to mount this little object still cling to it at the back (Fig. 291).

With these pectorals we may compare a monument of much later date which was found in Algeria, in the *Thermæ* of Juba II., at Cherchell. It is a leaden plaque, part of which has been broken away (Fig. 292). In four compartments separated by a bead-and-real ornament we find a bearded head four times repeated ; it is seen full face, and the hair is enframed in the horns of Ammon. The object to which this plaque belonged must have dated from the Roman period, but it is difficult to guess its character. We have




FIGS. 290, 291.—Gold ornament ; front and back views. Actual size. Louvre.[1]

mentioned it here mainly because it affords yet another proof of how far the types created by Egypt were carried by the Phœnician race, and of how long they remained in favour. Down to the final triumph of Christianity all the local faiths of the African continent, from the mouths of the Nile to the pillars of Hercules, were dominated by a great religion whose centre was in Egypt, in the oasis of Ammon.[2]

Putting aside all fragments of doubtful character, let us now speak of jewelry proper, of things for personal adornment. The only way to give a true idea of their style and taste is to describe them in

[1] See RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 659.

[2] See BERGER, *La Trinité Carthaginoise, mémoire sur un bandeau trouvé dans les environs de Batna*, chapter i. ; *Baal-Hâmân et Jupiter-Ammon* (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1880).

their order, beginning with the head and descending by regular steps to the girdle. The heavy tresses of the daughters of Asia and Africa were only to be kept in place by strong rings and pins of metal. Here is a silver pin with a large round head of open work, not unlike those which bristle in the hair of peasant women in many parts of modern Italy (Fig. 293).

Such a pin was assisted in its work of keeping the hair in place by certain metal rings, too large for finger rings and too small for bracelets. The use of these rings was discovered by the explorers of the Sardinian graveyards. "Upon one of these bronze rings, found by us in a tomb, the texture of the hair and of the veil by

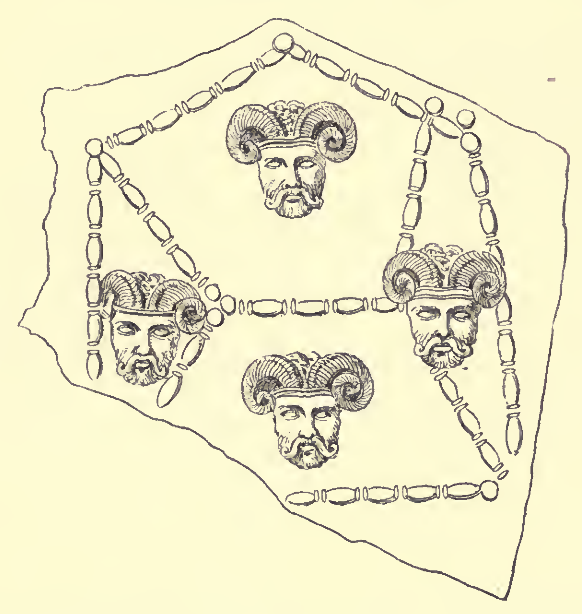


FIG. 292.—Heads of Ammon, on a leaden plaque. One-fourth of actual size.[1]

which the head had once been covered was imprinted upon the oxidized surface of the metal."[2] We ask ourselves whether certain trinkets, of which fine examples were found at Curium (Figs. 294 and 296), should not be classed with these rings.[3] If we took them to be earrings we should be embarrassed by the fact that the face is

[1] From PH. BERGER, *La Trinité Carthaginoise*, p. 6.

[2] SPANO, *Bullettino Archeologico Sardo*, vol. iv. pp. 111, 112. See also CRESPI, *Catalogo*, p. 143.

[3] Except where otherwise declared, all the figures in this chapter represent the originals in their true size.

the wrong way, and that, consequently, the griffins' heads, on which so much trouble has been lavished, could not be properly seen. The case would be very different if the jewel were fixed in the hair, above the forehead or at the temple, so that its proper front could be seen. Our explanation is made all the more probable by the back view of the richest of these jewels (Fig. 296).

Some smaller rings, on which the ornament is so arranged as to be easily visible from whichever side we look, may well be earrings (Figs. 297-299).

In the shapes of such things as these there is a quite astonishing variety. Some of the more elaborate are formed of several pieces united by chains. One of the best examples is a pair from Cyprus (Fig. 300, D); another, from Tharros (Fig. 301), is scarcely less complicated; but it is hardly so graceful, and seems in fact to suggest that taste was less pure in Sardinia and Carthage than in Tyre and Kition. The three pieces are held together, not by slender chains but by strong rings. The great length and considerable weight of this jewel suggests that it was made, not for use by a mortal, but either for deposition in a grave or for the statue of some goddess, perhaps for a figure of Astarte. In our Figs. 302 and 303 we reproduce two earrings in which motives much the same as those of the larger object are again employed. Baskets or bushels with grain in them, seem to have afforded a favourite type for the makers of these earrings (Figs. 304, 305); we find them both in Cyprus and Sardinia, the only difference lying in the greater massiveness of the ring in the example from Curium.

There is no need to explain this resemblance by supposing that these objects were carried by trade from one island to the other. We need hardly say that the wealthy cities of Cyprus did not import their earrings from Sardinia, while it is no less certain that the latter did not go to the Levant for such things. In Carthage she had a much more convenient source of supply. But all that Carthage knew she learnt from Tyre and Sidon; her artisans lived on the traditions of their eastern forbears, and thus the same models were in vogue at once in both the great basins of the Mediterranean.

Certain forms, however, and those not the most happy, seem to have been peculiar to Sardinia, or perhaps we should say to her teacher, Carthage. Among these are the pendants with three

arms of a *crux ansata* (Fig. 306),[1] and those copied from a chrysalis (Fig. 307).[2] Cypriot jewels are characterized by a broader and more sustained elegance, as our readers may see by glancing over those reproduced on our page 381, and comparing them with the two earrings here figured (Figs. 308 and 309).[3] The poorest inhabitants of the tombs have simple circlets of gold and plain finger-rings, which can be identified by the places they occupy on the sepulchre floors. Bronze earrings are rare, but at Tharros not a few have been found which consist of a bronze core overlaid with gold.[4]

We now come to the necklaces which fall, often in triple rows, over the breasts of so many Phœnician statuettes. There are also one or two statues on which the ornament in question is rendered in considerable detail. Here is a good example (Fig. 310). Here there are four rows, varying in the size of their elements from the small beads about the throat, to the large acorns which hang low upon the chest. Such a necklace as this could be readily restored from the originals found at Curium and in the Phœnician ruins of Sardinia. From these we know that such jewels were made up of gold, of brilliant glass beads, and of such stones as carnelions. One of the necklaces from Curium is composed of seventy gold beads and of twenty large acorns of the same metal; a medusa's head forms the centre (Fig. 300, B). In this last-named detail we scent the influence of Greece, but in another *parure* from the same place nothing but Oriental motives are to be found; a head with an Egyptian coiffure is flanked with round and oval beads and with lotus buds and flowers (Fig. 300, A). The same collection includes many more things of equal excellence. In one pomegranates and other fruits form the pendants; in the middle appears a small phial with half-open lid; it must have held some subtle perfume, perhaps that attar of roses which is still so dear to eastern women.[5] In other examples carnelion, onyx, and rock crystal are also introduced; pendants consist of such things as a cone, the symbol of Astarte, in gold, of a little

[1] Earrings of this type are encountered at every step in the tombs of Tharros (CRESPI, *Catalogo*, p. 143).

[2] Another golden trinket from Tharros represents a caterpillar with a diminutive snake rolled about it (*Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. iii. p. 21).

[3] See also CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plate xxvii.

[4] *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. ii. pp. 57-62.

[5] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 315, and plate xxiv.



FIG. 293.—Silver pin.[1]



FIG. 294.—Gold ring for the hair.[2]



FIG. 295.—Gold ring for the hair. Front view.[3]

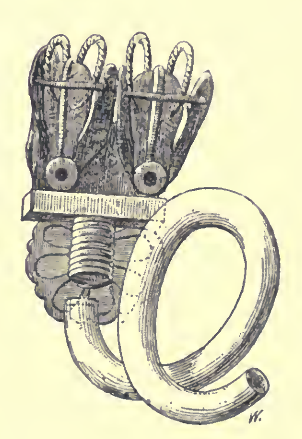


FIG. 296.—Gold ring for the hair. Back view.[4]



FIG. 297.—Earring.[5]



FIG. 298.—Earring [6]



FIG. 299.—Earring. Gold. British Museum.

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[1] From CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 312. [2] *Ibid.* plate xxviii.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* p. 310. [6] *Ibid.*



FIG. 300.—Jewelry found at Curium. New York Museum.




FIGS. 301, 302.—Earrings. Gold. British Museum.

FIG. 304.—Earring. Gold. From Crespi.



FIG. 303.—Earring. Gold. Cagliari Museum.



FIG. 305.—Earring. Gold. From Cesnola.



FIG. 306.—Earring. From Crespi.



FIG. 307.—Earring. From the *Bullettino Archeologico Sardo.*





FIGS. 308, 309.—Earrings. From Cesnola.

amphora in crystal, &c.[1] The effect of such jewels may be imagined from that of the necklace found by M. Renan on the coast of Syria, and reproduced at the foot of our Plate X.

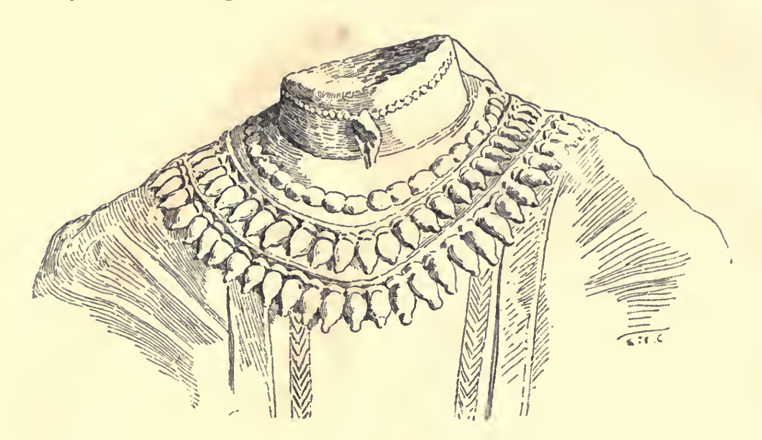


FIG. 310.—Fragment of a torso in limestone. New York Museum.

Nowhere is the skill of the Phœnician jeweller more clearly shown than in a necklace from Curium consisting of a plaited

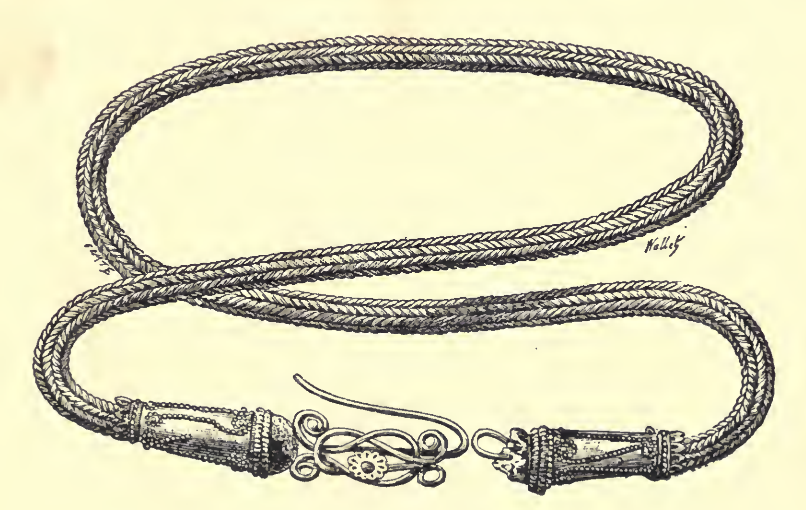


FIG. 311.—Gold necklace. From Cesnola.[2]

gold cable (Fig. 311). At one end a lion's head is mounted upon a cylinder covered with a fine bead ornament. The animal holds

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus.* These beads of carnelion and rock crystal are also found often enough in the Sardinian tombs (CRESPI, *Catalogo*, p. 41). A necklace of white stones and carnelions, from a tomb on the Syrian coast, belongs to the collection of M. de Vogüé.

[2] *Cyprus*, plate xxv.

PHŒNICIAN JEWELRY

Louvre



in its mouth a ring through which the hook at the other end of the cable is arranged to pass, the whole arrangement being carried out with that air of graceful ease which is the highest achievement of technical skill.

The jewels we have hitherto been describing were worn by the rich. Beside, or rather beneath them, came trinkets of a cheaper kind, made up entirely of those glass beads which only appear here and there in more ambitious ornaments. The simplest of these glass necklaces are those made up of blue beads, either oval, spherical, or pear-shaped, which have been found in such abundance on the breasts of Egyptian mummies (see the upper part of Plate X). A most interesting example of the taste with which these comparatively common materials were used is to be seen in the necklace from Tharros which occupies the centre of our Plate X. Taken separately, none of its elements are of any value; neither the bulls' heads nor the masque of Bacchus is in good style, while the beads by which they are separated are careless enough in workmanship; but the general result is nevertheless charming.

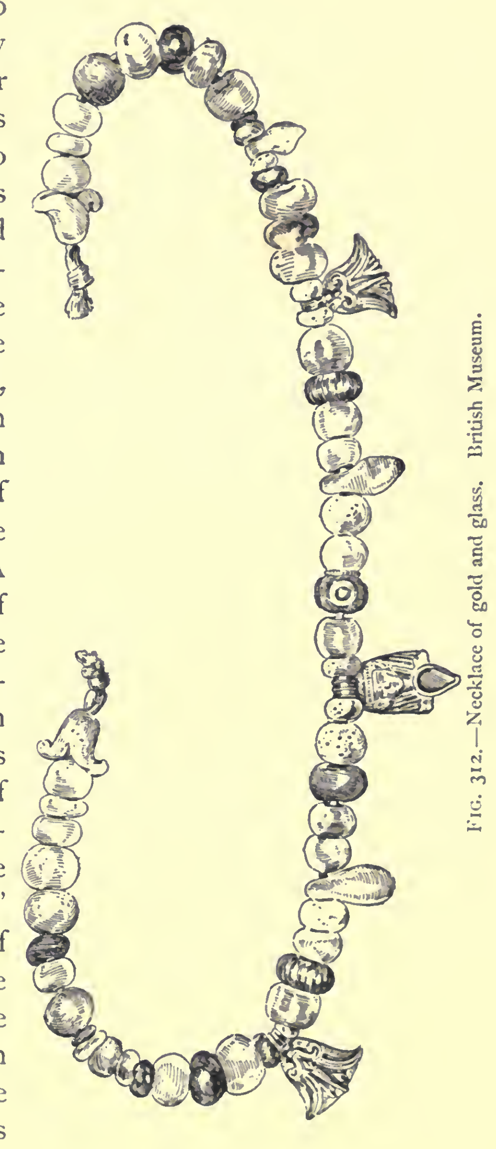


FIG. 312.—Necklace of gold and glass. British Museum.

A necklace from the same place, and now in the British Museum, is partly composed of metal (Fig. 312). A few of its beads are of gold, and so are the three pendants; the one in the centre is a woman's head with an Egyptian wig, those on either

side are lotus flowers, all the rest is of coloured glass. A great many fragmentary necklaces of glass and glazed earthenware have also been taken from the tombs of Cameiros.[1] This latter material was used both by itself and together with glass in the manufacture of cheap jewelry. On the Syrian coast necklaces have been found entirely composed of scarabs and small figurines of Egyptian *faïence*. Some of the scarabs bear hieroglyphs correct enough to be the work of Egypt itself.[2]

Necklaces entirely of gold, like those from Curium, seem to have been rare enough; hardly any have been found in the Sardinian graveyards. A necklace found at Olbia consists, however, of filigree cylinders of very delicate execution.[3] Another model held, apparently, in great favour by the Phœnician colonists in the island, was that of which we reproduce an example in our Fig. 313. Its character is hybrid; we recognize an Isis Asiaticised. These objects were most likely amulets.



FIG. 313.—Gold pendant in the Cagliari Museum.

We have already drawn attention to the pendants by which the richness of these Phœnician jewels was enhanced; they are of various shapes, long mostly for necklaces meant to hang low upon the breast, circular for those which embraced the throat. In Fig. 314 we reproduce one in the shape of a medallion, which formed part of the Curium treasure. Perhaps we should also assign a Phœnician origin to the beautiful brooch or pendant bequeathed to the French National Library by the Duc de Luynes (Fig. 315). It is said to have been discovered in the island of Milo. A sapphire forms the centre; on the disk about it appear

[1] We reserve all notice of the fine jewels in gold and electrum discovered by Salzmann for our chapter on archaic Greek art in Rhodes.

[2] Thus the scarabs in a necklace brought from Syria by M. de Vogüé bear the name of Thothmes III.

[3] *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. vii. pp. 116-118.

two female heads with Egyptian wigs, and two bulls' heads. Near the centre two bees seem to have settled, as if upon a flower. With the exception of the bee, we have already encountered all these motives on Cypriot or Phœnician works, so that we are inclined to believe this brooch to have been imported from the East. A small golden bee found at Cameiros (Fig. 316) is of quite similar workmanship to these. It is covered with wonderfully fine globules of gold.

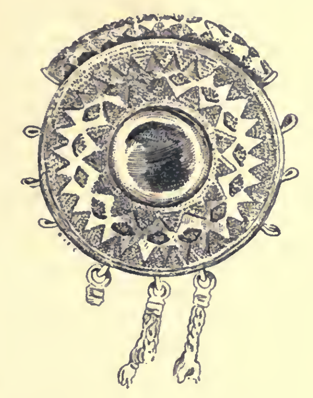


FIG. 314.—Brooch or pendant in gold. New York Museum.



FIG. 315.—Gold pendant. French National Library.

The elaborate object reproduced in Fig. 317, which formed part of the Curium treasure, was also no doubt a pendant for a necklace. The ring by which it was attached is still in place.

So far we have had to mention only ornaments of gold, of precious stones, of glass, and of enamelled faïence. But silver too must have been called in to furnish jewelry for the less wealthy classes. Objects of that metal, however, have been destroyed by



FIG. 316.—Golden Bee. British Museum.

the damp, to which the other materials named are invulnerable. And yet a few silver things of the kind have come down to us. We shall be content with mentioning one from Syria, which consists of spirals and disks alternated one with the other. One of the disks bears the sacred barque of Egypt; another, the winged globe with the eye of Osiris.[1]

[1] This necklace belongs to M. de Vogüé.

Phœnician dress did not demand a number of brooches and fibulæ, like those used by the Greeks; but something of the kind must have been required to keep in place both those veils which we see on so many steles and statuettes (Vol. I. Figs. 20, 193; Vol. II. Figs. 57, 58), and the mantle which was so generally worn in



FIG. 317.—Pendant for necklace. New York Museum.



FIG 318.—Bronze fibula from Cameiros. British Museum.

Cyprus. A considerable number of bronze fibulæ have been recovered from the Sardinian tombs. Several are decorated with geometrical designs; one is surmounted by a horse like that of the Carthaginian coins.[1] Similar things have been found at Cameiros;

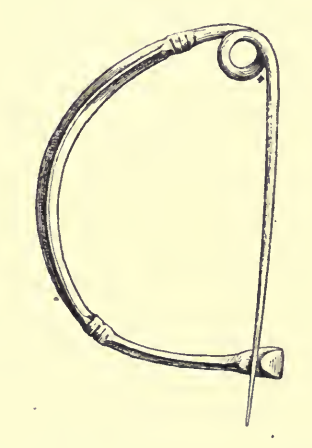


FIG. 319.—Golden fibula. New York Museum.

in one of them the pin transfixes four glass globes near its attachment, a detail that points to a Phœnician rather than to a Grecian origin. Analogy would lead us to assign to the same workmen some curious fibulæ on which a small bird is perched (Fig. 318). A golden fibula from Kition is of much simpler shape (Fig. 319);

[1] *Bullettino archeologico Sardo,* vol. v. p. 33.

in principle it is identical with the little contrivance known as a safety-pin.

Bangles going two or three times round the arms (Figs. 79, 83, 89, 129), and bracelets (Figs. 45, 103, 141) at the wrists may be seen on many Cypriot statues. It would seem from the monuments that bracelets were worn chiefly by women. They never occur on male statues, and the two on which the name of Eteandros, King of Paphos, appears, were possibly votive, and not for actual use. This idea acquires additional probability from the fact that these bracelets are solid. Bracelets made for wear were hollow, their walls being strengthened against accidental shocks by a filling of sulphur.

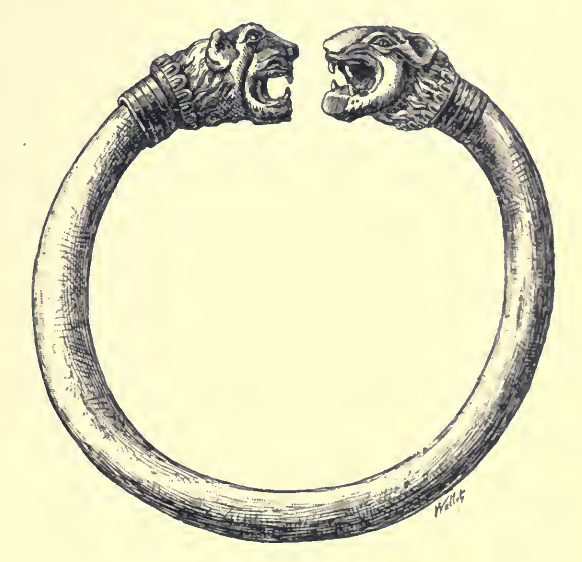


FIG. 320.—Gold bracelet. From Cesnola.[1]

Some bracelets consist of a simple ring of massive gold, without ornament; they weigh from two to three hundred grammes.[2] As a rule, however, the break in the circle is adorned by two heads of animals firmly attached to their respective ends of the cylinder and facing each other. In a bracelet from Curium (Fig. 320) these are lions' heads, excellently modelled. A similar motive is found on a pair of hollow gold bracelets, in marvellous condition, which may be instanced as perhaps the finest jewels of purely oriental style yet discovered in Phœnicia. In this case the heads are those of

[1] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 311.

[2] *Cyprus*, p. 311.

bulls with very short horns.[1] Sometimes the artist is seized with a desire to vary his theme; thus in another bracelet of the same class we find the head of a wild goat (*Capra ægagros*) at one end and that of a ram at the other. Finally, in some instances there is but one animal's head; the other extremity then ends in a point. In the example from Cameiros here figured (321), the bracelet itself is of silver, but the lion's mask is gilded. The type seems borrowed from Assyria rather than from Egypt.

Another class of jewelry is that in which gems and pieces of glass are inlaid between thin plates of gold, producing an effect very like that of cloisonné enamel. In our Fig. 322 we reproduce a very fine example of Egyptian origin. Nothing so rich as this

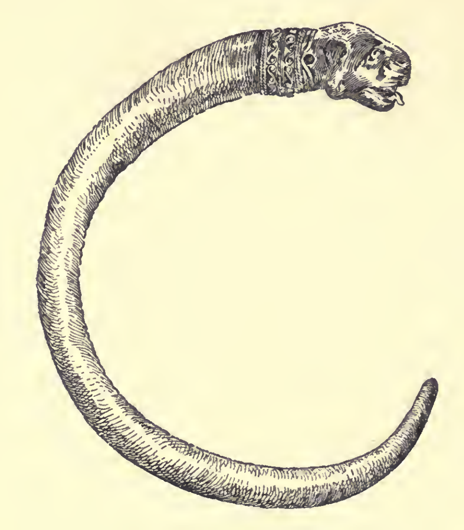


FIG. 321.—Silver bracelet. British Museum.

has been found either in Cyprus or in Phœnician deposits elsewhere, but two bracelets found at Curium (Fig. 323), are analogous in workmanship.

On the other hand it is chiefly from Assyrian models that the bracelets with medallions in the centre are taken. The most interesting specimen yet discovered belongs to the treasure of Curium (Fig. 324). It is formed of a triple row of golden beads with a kind of brooch in the centre, consisting of an onyx set in silver and surrounded by a gold outer frame. From this medallion hang four small disks of gold engraved with palmettes.

[1] These fine pieces belong to M. de Clercq; so does that which we describe next.

The composition is simpler but the execution quite as careful in another bracelet from Curium (Fig. 325), in which pairs of lotus flowers are alternated with pairs of small golden balls. The points

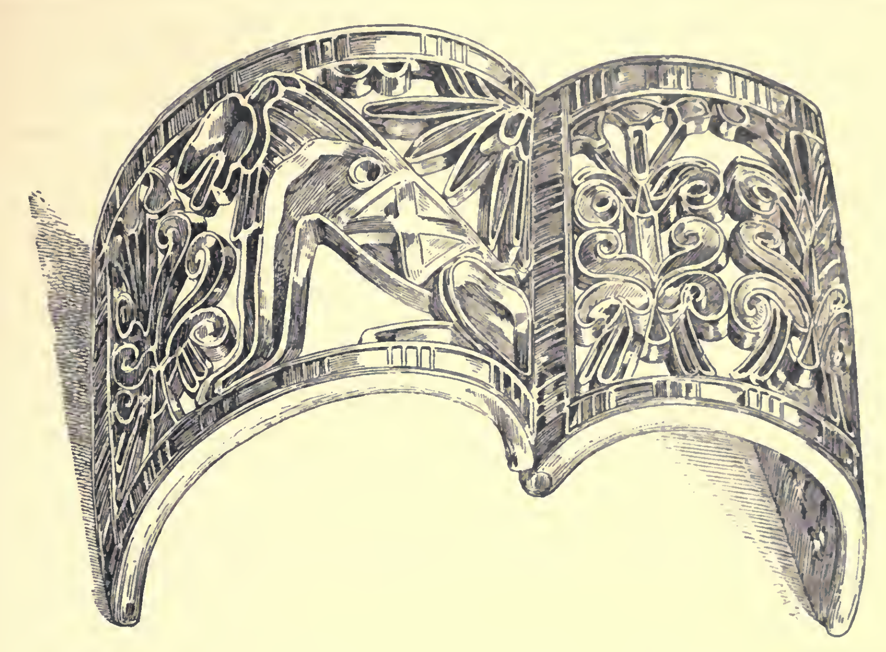


FIG. 322.—Egyptian bracelet. Gold. Louvre.

of junction between the flowers are hidden by minute daisy-like rosettes. A trinket of a more common kind is to be recognized in the flat band of gold with no ornament but small golden beads and circles (Fig. 326).

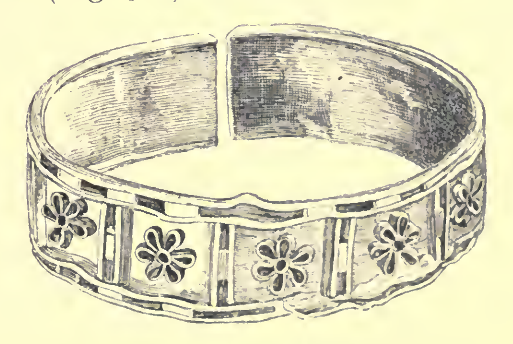


FIG. 323.—Bracelet. New York Museum.

Except this thing last mentioned, all the jewelry from Syria or Cyprus is happy in invention and most skilful in workmanship. A few curious bracelets have also been found in the graveyards of

Sardinia. Both material and execution are as fine as in things from the East, but design and proportion are not quite so perfect.

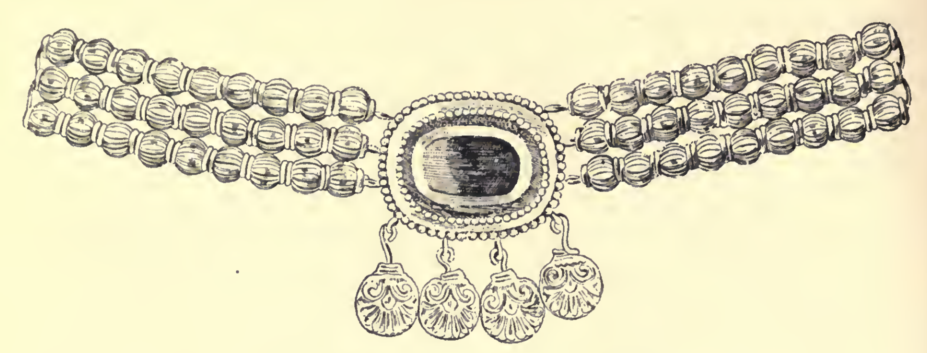
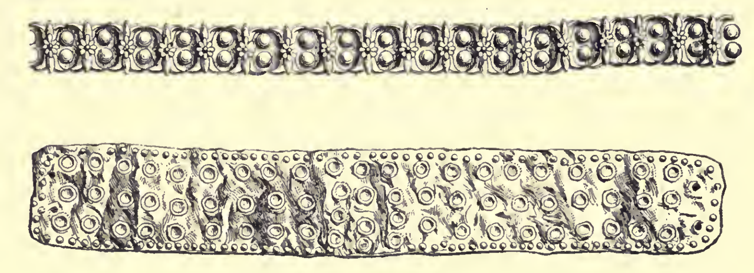


FIG. 324.—Bracelet. New York Museum.

There is a gold bracelet in the British Museum, said to have come from Tharros (Fig. 327), which may be recognized at a glance as Phœnician.



FIGS. 325, 326.—Bracelets. From Cesnola.

The palmettes with which it is decorated are quite similar to those on the Cypriot steles. Another trinket of the same kind in

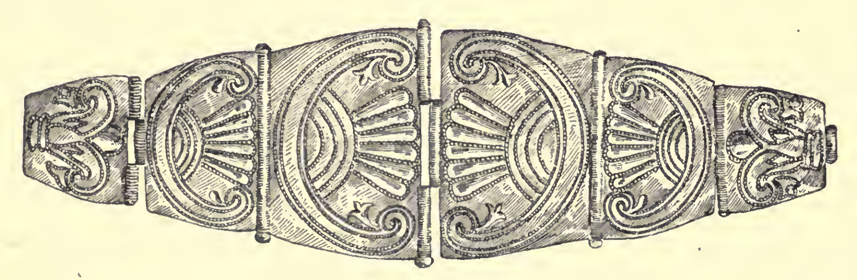


FIG. 327.—Gold bracelet. From Tharros. British Museum.

the British Museum, and also from Tharros (Fig. 328), seems a little poor and thin in its grace.

Rings were carried even more generally than bracelets. They had them at all prices and of all materials, from rings of amber or glass to those with an engraved stone, a scarab or scarabæoid, turning on a pivot. They were of all forms, some, as in Egypt, being shaped like a snake rolled back on itself, others modelled into a chain or cable. Many were nothing more than cylindrical or prismatic rods of metal bent into circles and beaten out at one part of their circumference into a flat table, on which an image was sometimes engraved with the burin. Rings are continually met with in the Phœnician graveyards. The explorers of the Sardinian tombs tell us they were found at Tharros in thousands; all the women in the villages round about wear ancient Phœnician rings.[1]



FIG. 328.—Gold bracelet. From Tharros. British Museum.[2]

By the side of these rings we encounter seals, which may be distinguished by their size; they were carried hung round the neck or wrist by a cord. We have already reproduced one which was found on the Syrian coast (Vol. I. Fig. 146); here is another, from Curium (Fig. 329); this seal bears a pseudo-Egyptian type and is mounted in silver. On some seals the rings by which they were suspended may still be seen.[3]

A large number of gold and silver buttons have been found in

[1] Some of them are figured in SPANO'S *Anelli antichi Sardi* (*Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, vol. v. pp. 16-20, 54-59, 73-76).

[2] This is one of a pair, both in the Museum.

[3] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, plate xxvii.

Cyprus, in Sardinia, and in the Cameiros tombs. They must have been sewn upon robes, but we do not exactly know how or where (Fig. 330). They are governed by precisely the same taste as those glass buttons of undoubted origin already mentioned (Figs. 258—265). The surface of some is convex and highly polished (Fig. 331).



FIG. 329.—Seal. From Cesnola.

The next two fragments may have formed part either of a necklace or of a pectoral; the style is more Phœnician than Greek; in one, two lions' heads are put back to back (Fig. 332); in the other a hawk with wings extended and depressed (Fig. 333) reminds us of Egypt. These fragments were found in Crete; they are now in the British Museum. The ancient relations

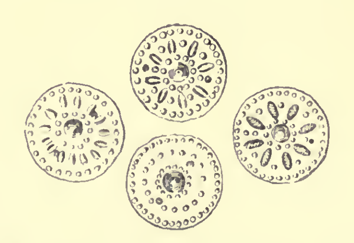


FIG. 330.—Metal buttons. From Cameiros. British Museum.

between that island and Phœnicia are attested by history, and perhaps a third little object in the same great museum may also be of Cretan origin. It represents a wild goat of the same species as those still hunted by the mountaineers of Sfakia and Selino. It is called the *agrimi* in the Cretan dialect. More than once I have seen its long curved horns hanging in a native house. We figure

this little jewel here (Fig. 334) because it comes from excavations which yielded many other things of Phœnician origin. Whether it belonged to a necklace, a bracelet, or some other jewel, we cannot decide; obviously, however, it was a pendant.

The things we have been describing bear witness to a very high degree of technical skill. One or two among them could only have been made by workmen endowed with a really astonishing fineness of eye and dexterity of hand. They must have understood how to solder gold to gold and to other metals; without



FIG. 331.—Buttons. From Cameiros. British Museum.

that knowledge they could never have produced their more complex pieces. The secret must have been learnt from Egypt, for it was known to the jewellers in the Nile valley at least as early as the times of the great Theban dynasties. The Phœnicians, however, appear to have greatly perfected and developed the process, and to have arrived at effects unknown to their masters of Memphis and Thebes. Egyptian jewelry has much nobility; we admire it for the richness of its materials, for the skill with which those materials are used, and for its fine proportions; but even



FIG. 332.—Fragment of a jewel in gold. British Museum.



FIG. 333.—Golden hawk. British Museum.

the best of its productions have a certain heaviness, as if the jeweller had got his designs from an architect. Assyrian jewelry is still heavier, it has much largeness of design and great brilliancy of colour; in some of its details we find power not unlike that which distinguishes Ninevite sculpture, but only in a very few instances does it show any of that elegance which should, after all, be the chief characteristic of such things. The Phœnicians had the goldsmith's work of both these countries before their eyes; they could choose from its creations such examples as suited their

taste, and they did so ; but they pushed the art far beyond the point at which it had been left by their masters.

The stimulus to all this was no doubt the desire to produce a class of jewelry which should look as well as these massive trinkets, and yet, by the comparatively small quantity of metal required, should afford a good profit to its producers. At any rate both gold and silver were used more sparingly by the Phœnician jeweller than by his predecessors on the south and east. He was the first to make delicate networks and cables of gold, and to decorate surfaces with the finest threads of metal bent into varied shapes. When a flower or the head of an animal had to be modelled, he thoroughly understood how to complete the work of the chisel with the burin. In a word, no resource of the art was strange to him. The only advance the Greeks could make upon his work was the introduction of human forms into their jewels and



FIG. 334.—Wild goat. Gold. British Museum.

gems ; this advance, indeed, they made good with all the skill and taste they showed in other things. In Phœnician work geometrical and vegetable forms prevail ; a few types from the lower animals are managed with breadth and with a fine eye for decorative effect. But man is almost entirely absent ; at most he is represented by a few male and female heads in quite subordinate positions. Hardly a statuette of any importance can be mentioned but that bust of Isis which seems to have no slight vogue in the eastern workshops (Fig. 313).

And there is nothing in the mere absence of the human figure from Phœnician jewelry to condemn it to inferiority. The object of jewelry is to enhance the effect of the single man or woman by whom it is carried, to make him or her more beautiful and imposing ; so that we might fairly say that the jeweller who

should give too conspicuous a place in his work to the human figure would be guilty of a mistake. The jewel should be a compliment to the person by whom it is worn, and that character runs no risk of being lost so long as its effects are won by simple combinations of lines, straight and curved. When leaves, or flowers, or real and factitious animals are introduced they must be so managed as to be obviously decorative both in effect and intention. But it is hardly possible to restrict the figures of men or women to such a conventional rôle; once allowed a place, they have a knack of dominating all the rest. It may be said, of course, that the Phœnicians left them out from impotence, from their pure inability to model an elegant figure in small; but, in any case, it cannot be denied that they had a very just idea of the conditions the maker of personal ornaments should keep in view.

§ 6.—*Furniture and Objects of the Toilet.*

One of the principal staples of Phœnician trade was perfumery. Just as the Parisian factories of to-day export soaps, perfumed oils, scents, and other things of the same kind to the ends of the earth, so did ancient Phœnicia to all the coasts of the Mediterranean.[1] She inherited the processes of Egypt and Assyria, and she invented new ones of her own. From Africa, Arabia, and all western Asia her ships and caravans brought every shrub from which a scent could be extracted. The secret of distillation was yet unknown, but the Phœnicians contrived to obtain highly concentrated liquids and sweet-smelling oils, some of which were credited with curative properties.[2] A great number of hands were employed on this manufacture. Tyre and Carthage must have had their perfume bazaars, as Stamboul, Damascus and Cairo, have now.

The preparations which issued from these workshops were

[1] SCYLAX, in a passage already quoted (*Periplus*, § 112), speaks of the Phœnicians as selling perfumes to the natives of the west coast of Africa. EZEKIEL (ch. xxvii.) also alludes to the aromatic shrubs imported by them from every land with which they traded. The word *μύρον*, by which the Greeks designated perfumes in general, seems to have been derived from a Semitic term, the Hebrew *mor*, which had an equivalent sense. The words *βάλσαμον*, *balsamum*, are also Semitic in origin. They come from *bessem* or *bassam*, which was not so often used as *mor*.

[2] See for example what I have said elsewhere on the manufacture of *ladanum* (G. PERROT, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Dec. 1st, 1878, pp. 526, 527).

assured of a wide market; the use of perfumes is one of the most widespread distinctions between civilised and savage man; but in order to make them even more attractive than they were by nature they were put up in those bottles of oriental alabaster, of glass and of enamelled earthenware, which have been found even in the tombs of Etruria. A few crystal and gold ones have also been found.[1]

Ivory was also used for the same purpose. It appears to have been a very favourite material with the Phœnicians; they imported it from India, from the Persian Gulf, from Chaldæa and Arabia.[2] Africa, too, furnished a substantial supply by way of Egypt.[3] Nearly all the ivory used at Carthage must have been African; some of it must have come from Cerné, the Carthaginian factory on the west coast.[4] Great quantities were stored in Carthage; in the spoil carried off by Scipio after the battle of Zama ivory is mentioned together with gold and silver.[5]

We have already seen, in our study of Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, how many were the uses to which this fine material was put;[6] one of the most curious examples now extant is afforded by the remains of an ivory case found in the tomb of Esmounazar.[7] These fragments were disengaged one by one from

[1] The sepulchre called the *Tomb of Polledrara*, at *Vulci*, contained many glazed earthenware phials, the upper parts of which were modelled into women's busts (MICALI, *Monumenti inediti*, plate iv. figs. 2 and 4). Another has the quite Egyptian form of a gourd, and bears a hieroglyphic inscription (*Ib.* plate vii. fig. 4). These objects are now in the British Museum, which also possesses an alabastron from Cameiros of exactly the same shape as those from Polledrara; the former, however, is of alabaster, while the hands of the female, instead of clasping a winged disk, are differently employed; one hangs down by her side, while the other grasps a flower.

[2] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 15. "The men of Dedan were thy merchants: many isles were the merchandize of thine hand; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony." According to REUSS the "men of Dedan" were the desert Arabs, and the words of Ezekiel allude to the commerce with India, which was carried on by means of Arab caravans passing between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. The *islands*, of course, are merely distant countries. See also SMEND, *Der Prophet Ezekiel erklärt, etc.* (8vo, 2nd edition, 1880).

[3] See PERROUD, *De Syrticis emporiis* (1881, Paris, 8vo), chapter xi., entitled *de Commercio.*

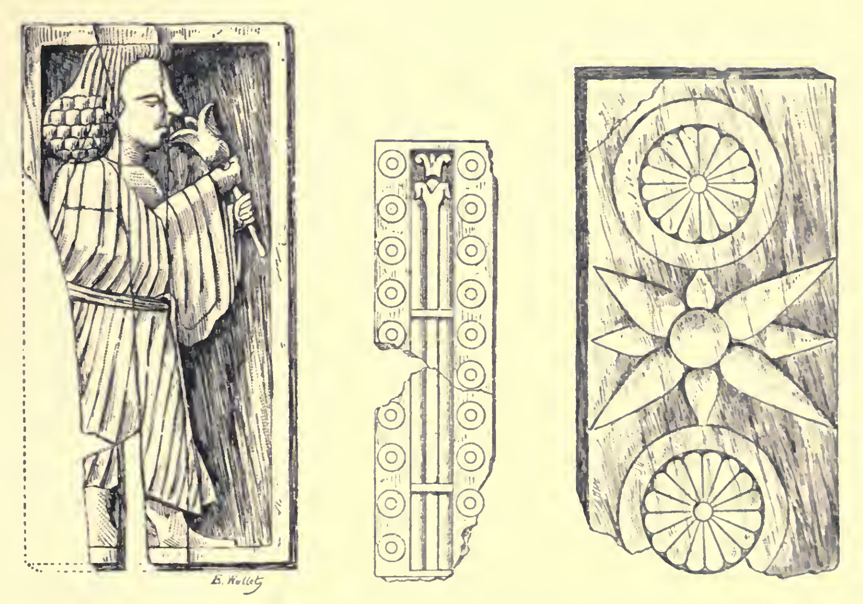
[4] SCYLAX, *Periplus*, § 112.

[5] APPIAN, viii. 23.

[6] *Art in Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II. pp. 384-390; *Art in Assyria and Chaldæa*, Vol. II. pp. 319-324.

[7] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 499-501.

the earth thrown out of the chamber; many of them were quite disintegrated, or have since become so, but those that are still in fairly good condition show that the whole once formed a small case for perfume bottles. The tablets which formed the sides and lid of the box are reproduced in our Figs. 335-337. The most curious is that on which the sculptor has carved, in low relief, a woman holding a lotus flower to her nose (Fig. 335). This plaque is quite unique in its way; it formed, perhaps, the front of the box. Two more, of the same thickness but of different sizes, are more simply decorated, one with a sort of faggot of lotus stems tied with cords in two places and a border of rosettes (Fig. 336), the other



FIGS. 335—337.—Fragments of an ivory box. From the tomb of Esmounazar. In the collection of M. de Vogüé.

with an eight-pointed rosette between two with sixteen points (Fig. 337). A cylindrical sheath, or *étui*, was found in the same place as these fragments (Fig. 338); it still held traces of a powdery substance coloured green with oxide of copper. In Fig. 339 another ivory case is shown in section through the splitting of the material. Finally, mixed up with all these were encountered a number of small pieces of various shapes and sizes, some rectangular, others prismatic, while a few small pieces were bevelled on one face. All these fragments seem to have formed part of the internal arrangement and division of the box. They

are skilfully worked and the decorative parts are not without grace and variety.

At several points in the Phœnician world ivory plaques have been found which seem to have belonged to objects of this kind. Such, for example, is the tablet discovered at Carthage, by Mr. Salomon Reinach, in the excavations he made in 1884 between Byrsa and the harbour (Fig. 341). It was found at a depth of



FIG. 338.—Ivory case. Height $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches.

twelve feet, and the heaviness of its workmanship suggests that it belongs to a period before Greek art had begun to have much influence. From Cameiros, too, have come some fragments of ivory in which both types and workmanship have the same Phœnician character. The specimen we reproduce belongs to the Louvre (Fig. 342). The British Museum, however, is richer in these things. It possesses a number of little slabs in which

cables and rosettes occur as well as several on which the artist has carved human figures. On one (Fig. 343), we see a nude female figure, and on another (344) a head with a peculiar arrangement of hair, both carried out with great care. The modelling of the head speaks of a Greek rather than of a Semitic artist, and we only mention this ivory here because it seems to have been made at the expense of an earlier Phœnician carving. On the back of the prism appear the hind-quarters of a decidedly Asiatic lion. On other tablets of a similar kind we find animals carried out with the loose, summary execution which, in such things, marks the Phœnician artisan (Fig. 346). In the same case as these fragments

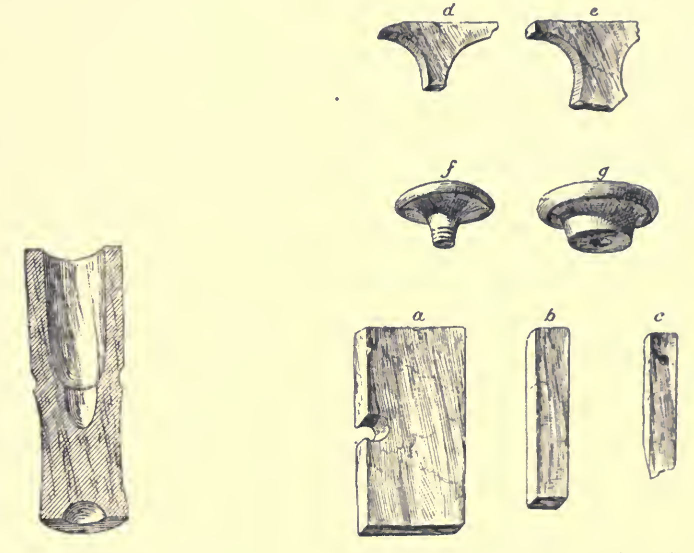


FIG. 339.—Fragment of an ivory case. From Renan.

FIG. 340.—Fragments of an ivory box or coffer.

there are the remains of an ivory box in the form of a ship. The lid is in the shape of a swan with its neck turned back towards its tail. This motive is quite Egyptian. In the Egyptian galleries of the British Museum I found two ivory boxes on which exactly the same motive is repeated ; unfortunately they are broken. We may guess that when they were complete they represented a swan feeding its young. By the side of one of these boxes two small fishes in ivory of exactly the same tone are placed. Most likely they belonged to the same whole.

In this industry the taste for motives of Egyptian origin lasted down to a very late period. The Lawrence-Cesnola collection, in London, possesses a small ivory coffer dating, it would seem, only

from Ptolemaic times.[1] It comes from Kition, where it was found in a curious hiding place. It was shut up in a round box of lead,



FIG. 341.—Ivory tablet.
Height 4 inches.

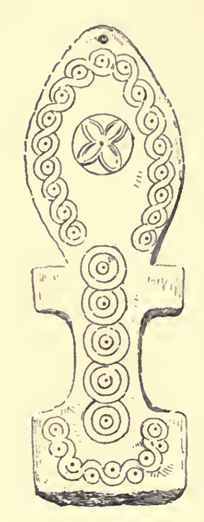


FIG. 342.—Ivory tablet.
Actual size. Louvre.

and that again between two bowls put face to face. On the lid there is a man's head of good Greek style, while the subjects



FIG. 343.—Ivory tablet. Actual size. British Museum.

engraved on the sides of the box are quite Egyptian both in idea and workmanship.

[1] AL. DE CESNOLA, *Salaminia*, pp. 73-75.

We shall only quote one more of these Phœnician ivories, and that less for its decoration than for a sign it bears of its origin. It belongs to the British Museum. It consists of a thin, quadrangular plaque with a slight cylindrical curvature. Upon its convex face a scarab with four outspread wings is sculptured in very low relief. Originally the carving was filled with coloured paste and heightened with gold. This paste has now fallen out



FIG. 344.—Ivory prism. Actual size. British Museum.



FIG 345.—Reverse of ivory prism.

and left the ground bare ; it is on this ground, in the left wing of the scarab, that a *beth* is deeply cut into the ivory. Evidently it was covered by the paste and therefore not meant to be seen once the work was complete. Isolated letters have been found on other Phœnician objects ; they were most likely guides for those who finished and fitted the works on which they appear.[1]



FIG. 346.—Ivory tablet. Actual size. British Museum.

In the West objects of ivory seem to have been much sought after. The finest Oriental carvings in that material have been found in the sepulchres of Latium and Etruria ; here we must be content with figuring a simple example from the famous treasure of Palestrina (Fig. 347) ; in a future volume we shall have occasion

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Notes d'archéologie orientale*, viii. (*Revue Critique*, 1884, I, pp. 12, 13). Our readers will remember the letters cut on the walls of Eryx (Vol. I. Fig. 34).

to discuss these things more fully. On this plaque from Præneste three personages are in adoration before a divinity in front of whose throne stands an altar and a table for offerings; the whole scene takes place on a long Egyptian boat managed by two boatmen in the stem and stern.[1]

Other ivory fragments found during these excavations must have formed part of a little box or casket; among other motives with which they are carved, papyrus stems, lotus flowers, horsemen, charioteers, musicians and bearers of offerings, may be distinguished. They still show traces of colour and of gold, while some of the hollows seem to have been filled in with enamels.[2]

Finally we may notice as one of the most curious remains of the class an ivory bucket from a tomb at *Chiusi*, or Clusium.[3] It is hollowed in the lower side of a block cut from a tusk, and the outside is covered with figures in several stages going round the tooth. The motives are all familiar enough except one, and this

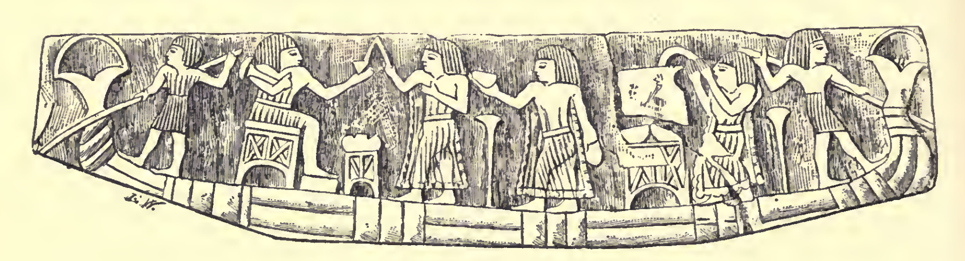


FIG. 347.—Ivory plaque. Length $7\frac{4}{5}$ inches.[4]

is a group of two rams going towards a ship, each with a man under his belly and tightly clasping his neck. One is inclined to ask whether this may not be an attempt to illustrate the passage in the *Odyssey* where the companions of Ulysses escaped from

[1] Discoveries like this had been made at Palestrina ten years before the famous find of 1876 (*On the Discovery of Sepulchral Remains at Veii and Præneste*, by the Padre RAPHAELE GARRUCCI; communicated and translated by W. M. Wylie, &c. in the *Archæologia*, vol. xli.). The ivories then discovered are described at pp. 202 and 204, and figured in plates v. (figs. 1 and 2) and viii. (figs. 1, 2, 3). They include couchant and passant lions, and lions with wings. See also HELBIG, *Cenni sopra l'arte fenicia*, p. 249 (*Annali*, 1876).

[2] HELBIG, *Oggetti trovati in una tomba prenestina*, seconda serie, pp. 6-9 (*Annali*, 1879, and *Monumenti*, xi. plate ii. figs. 1-6).

[3] W. HELBIG, *Oggetti trovati in una tomba Chiusina* (*Annali*, 1877, pp. 398-405, and *Monumenti*, x. plate xxxviii.*a*, figs. 1 and 1*a*).

[4] From the *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, plate xxxi. fig. 3.

Polyphemus, or at least, whether the Phœnicians had not some popular tale of which Homer made use.

The use of ivory allowed of a vast number of effects ; it was inlaid in wood,[1] it was painted and gilded ; it afforded a matrix in which gems and enamels could be set.[2] Amulets and pendants were also made of it. Among the things from Tharros in the British Museum there are a number of very small figurines in ivory, Hathor, Bast, Horus, winged syhinxes, etc. They each have a small suspension hole at the top. Rooms and their furniture were adorned with large ivory plaques and the chips made in cutting them were used for small objects. On the whole the consumption must have been great.

For a long time ivory must have been carried westwards only in the form of manufactured objects, but as the years passed on the rough material must have been imported by the Greeks and Italiots and worked at home. In another bucket-shaped vessel from a tomb at Veii, we should willingly recognize a work executed on the soil of Etruria.[3] There are no figures, the field is divided into vertical compartments by bronze *cloisons* filled in with amber. It is in this use of amber that we see an Etruscan hand ; that material was practically unknown to the old Oriental civilisation ; we find no trace of it either in Egypt or Assyria. On the other hand it was commonly employed throughout antiquity by the tribes of the west. Homer mentions indeed the sale of a necklace of amber and gold beads by a Phœnician merchant.[4] Nothing of the kind has been found, however, either in Syria or Cyprus.[5] On the other hand it constantly occurs in

[1] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 6.

[2] From the Assyrian excavations many ivories have been obtained in which these enrichments were still in place (*Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. I. p. 301).

[3] It is described by GARRUCCI in the article above cited (*Archæologia*, vol. xli. p. 197, plate iv. fig. 4).

[4] HOMER, *Odyssey*, xv. 460. See the apparently conclusive reasons given by Helbig for taking the poet to mean amber, and not the alloy of gold and silver, in the following passage : μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο (*Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erlautert*, p. 83, 84). HELBIG agrees with LEPSIUS in thinking that a distinction should be drawn between ὁ ἤλεκτρος, electrum, and τὸ ἤλεκτρον, amber ; ἤλεκτρα are grains of amber.

[5] MM. RENAN and LOUIS DI CESNOLA say not a word of amber, while M. ALEXANDRE DI CESNOLA declares in so many words that he never encountered any (*Salaminia*, pp. 28, 29).

Italy, in the tombs of Latium, Etruria and Præneste.[1] The Phœnicians were such skilful merchants that they would never neglect an article like this, with a wide and sure market. It is therefore probable that in the western Mediterranean the Carthaginians were the agents through whom it was bought from northern tribes and distributed over the western coasts. It is found in considerable quantities in the cemetery of Tharros,[2] and the question is to know whether it was worked in the island or imported ready for use from Etruria and Latium.

The Phœnician origin of some ostrich eggs found at Vulci in Etruria cannot be denied. They were found in the tomb of Polledrara and are six in number; once, no doubt, they were arranged on a metal foot,[3] which was so disposed as to hide certain marks, directions no doubt to the mounter, which are now exposed. I noted, for instance, A and Λ, upon two separate eggs.

Four of these eggs are decorated with figures whose contours are traced with the point and then filled in with colour or gold leaf, all signs of which have now disappeared. The tones of the polished surface and the part covered with colour or gold show a marked difference, however, which is approximately shown in our woodcuts.

Each egg is entirely surrounded by a wide band of ornament engraved with the figures of men and animals; above and below this band, but only for a part of its length, runs a border made up of a kind of fringe with beads and fillets (Figs. 348-351). A fifth egg is decorated in a somewhat different way (Fig. 352). The figures upon it are merely painted with a brush. A black line marks the contours; the spaces within are covered with spots of red paint, and the whole composition is shut in within two bands of red and green.[4] The same tints have been used to

[1] See Garrucci (*Archæologia*, vol. xli. pp. 197 and 204).

[2] Spano, *Bullettino archeologico Sardo*, 1859, pp. 175, 176. Upon the trade routes of amber see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, i. pp. 211 *et seq.* Helbig, *Osservazioni sul commercio dell' ambra*, in the Proceedings of the Academy of the Lincei, 1877, p. 7. Helbig calls our attention to the fact that amber was found in nearly every tomb in Latium and Etruria in which objects of Phœnician manufacture were encountered (p. 13).

[3] Pliny was acquainted with these ways of using the egg of the ostrich (N. H. x. 1); the fashion subsisted in his time. Even now, indeed, in the East, these shells may be seen hanging from the roofs of the mosques, adorned with many-coloured cords and tassels. [4] In our woodcut the darker tone represents red, the lighter green.

colour the wings of the four monsters which defile across the field; these are griffins of a very curious kind and of a kind that we have never yet encountered. The body and paws are those of a lion, but the animal as a whole is far more slender, is far higher on the leg, than usual; its neck has all the length and suppleness of a crane's neck, but its head is not that of a bird. In its general proportions it is perhaps more like a giraffe or camel than anything else.

This fantastic beast is the only motive by which these egg decorations are to be distinguished from those on the metal bowls. The analogy between the two is obvious in everything but the actual workmanship, which is much less careful in the case of the eggs; the value of these consisted in the rarity of the material. The distant purchasers were attracted by the enormous size of the eggs and by the fabulous tales that were told of the unknown birds that laid them; so that the Phœnician trader was safe in confiding their decoration to mediocre workmen. There is no reason to suggest that the work was done in Etruria. The tomb in which the eggs were found contained many other things of Oriental manufacture, scarabs of glass and glazed earthenware, one with the name of Psammeticus I; aryballoi in Egyptian faïence with hieroglyphic inscriptions, alabastrons of the same manufacture, terra-cotta statuettes, and an ivory spoon of thoroughly Phœnician appearance, bands of chiselled and repoussé bronze, figures recalling those of the metal bowls and even of our eggs.[1]

Among the curiosities sprinkled all over the western world by the Phœnicians, we may also quote shells brought from distant coasts. In Cameiros, as in Chaldæa, engraved fragments of the *Tridacna squamosa*, a native of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, have been picked up.[2] In one the central boss is skilfully carved into the semblance of a human head. At the edge, on the inside, there are designs traced with the point.

The Phœnician jeweller seems to have made no great use of coral. In Sardinia it is very rare to find objects in that material

[1] All these objects are now in the British Museum; they were acquired in 1850. They are described and figured in MICALI, *Monumenti inediti degli antichi popoli italiani* (Florence, 1884, 1 vol. 8vo and a folio), plates iv.-viii. Micali reproduces four of the eggs (plate vii. figs. 1-3), but his plates seemed to us unsatisfactory, and we have therefore had our engravings made from new and careful drawings of the originals.

[2] These fragments belong to the British Museum.



FIG. 348.—Engraved ornament upon an ostrich's egg. Length of band 16 inches. British Museum.

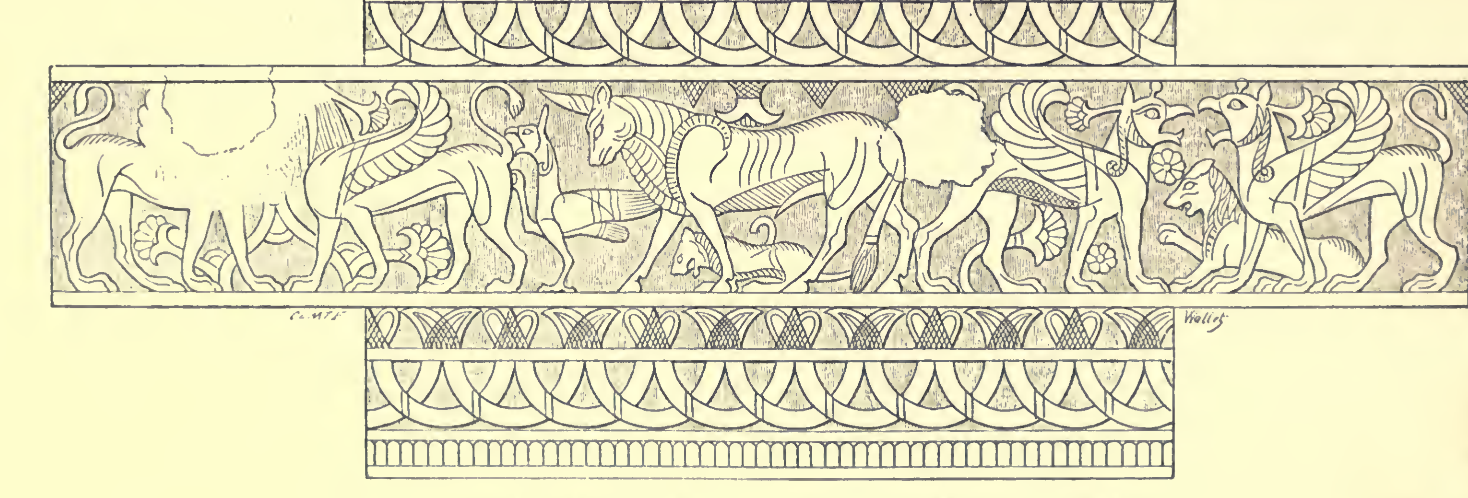


FIG. 349.—Engraved ornament upon an ostrich's egg. Length 16⅔ inches. British Museum.

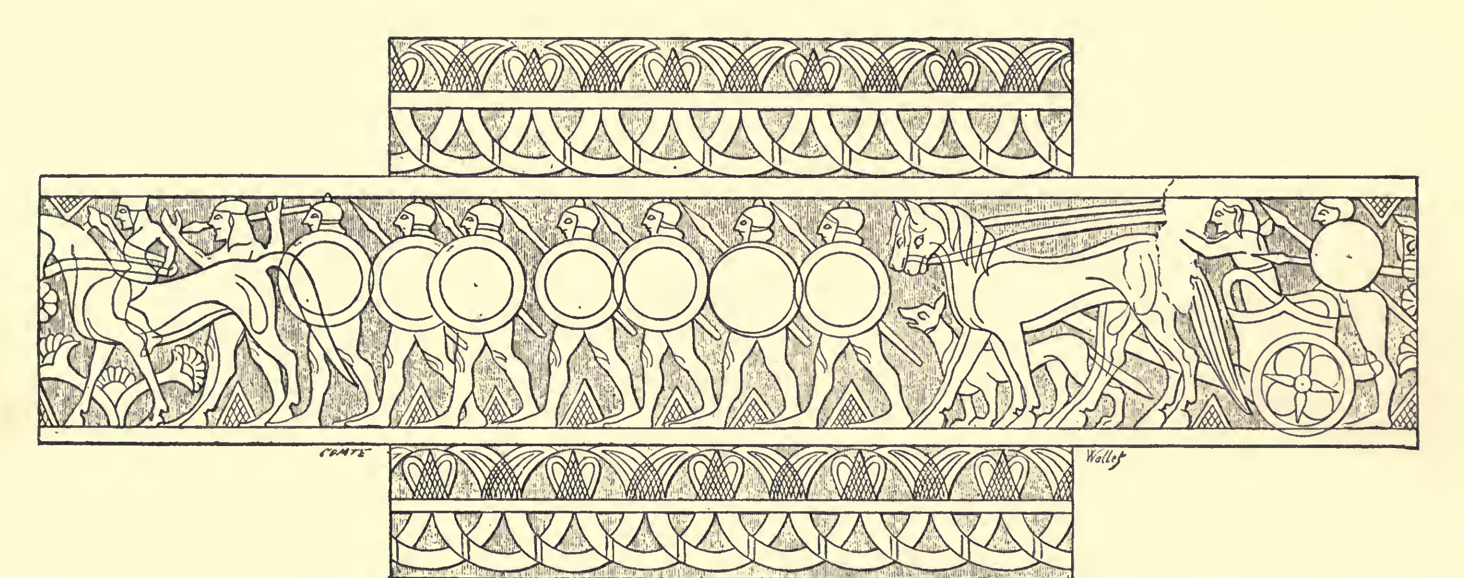


FIG. 350.—Engraved ornament upon an ostrich's egg. Length 16$\frac{1}{8}$ inches. British Museum.



FIG. 351.—Engraved ornament upon an ostrich's egg. Length 16⅜ inches. British Museum.

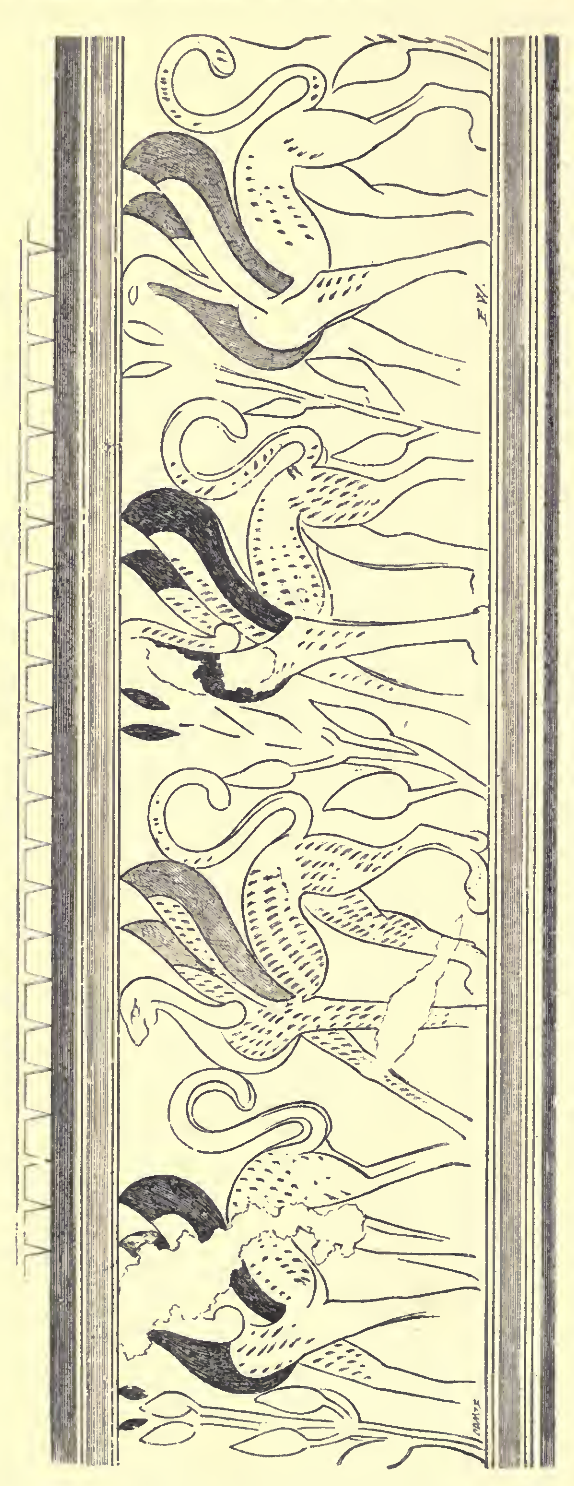


FIG. 352.—Painting on an ostrich's egg. Length 18 inches. British Museum.

that can be referred to the Carthaginian period. We are told, however, that, in the course of an excavation made by a competent person, a coral amulet with two uræi upon it was found.[1]

Many works in carved wood, incrusted with metals, enamel and ivory, must also have been sent out by the Phœnician workshops. They had at their disposal many valuable timbers: *viz.* the cedars of Lebanon; cypress, which was abundant in Cyprus and Crete; and the box-tree, which grows everywhere round the basin of the Mediterranean. Unhappily, wood has succumbed to time everywhere but in Egypt.

Bronze has been more fortunate. We have a few small things by which we can see how

[1] E. PAIS, *La Sardegna prima del dominio romano*, p. 50, note 5.

skilful the Phœnician modellers were in making furniture and *batteries de toilette* of that metal. Like the Egyptians before



FIG. 353.—Mirror handle in bronze. Height 8⅝ inches. New York Museum.

them,[1] the Phœnicians decorated the handles of their mirrors;

[1] *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Vol. II. Figs. 260, 261.

to Phœnicia rather than to Egypt, we ascribe the example here figured (Fig. 353); it was found in Cyprus and is without the simplicity and frankness which distinguish Egyptian work. There can be no doubt as to the real character and significance of this little object. The execution is weak and without distinction, but the general result is not devoid of elegance of a certain kind. It is not very ancient; it may well date from the Ptolemaic period. The idea of perching a woman on a frog appears to have been borrowed from Egypt.[1] The baldrick over the right shoulder should be noticed: it looks as if it might be used to support a seal. A similar detail is to be formed on a whole series of figures from Salamis now in the British Museum.[2]

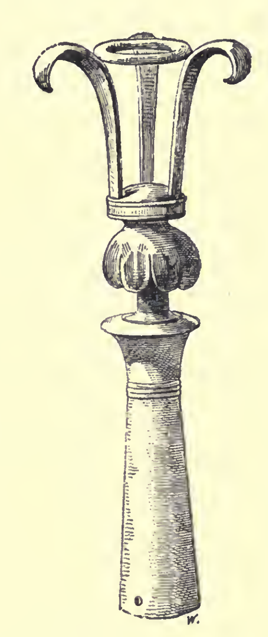


FIG. 354.—Bronze candelabrum. New York Museum.

Bronze was also used for furniture. Fig. 354 shows a candelabrum found in one of the Curium chambers. Its Phœnician origin is betrayed by the crown of drooping leaves about the neck. We have already encountered the very same ornament in stone (Vol. I. Figs. 80 and 81). A tripod from the same place may

[1] In the *Salle des dieux* of the Louvre, case K, there is a woman mounted on a frog, and carrying Bes on her shoulders. The frog in turn rests upon an open lotus flower.

[2] A very curious mirror was found at Salamis by Mr. Alexander di Cesnola; on the reverse of the disk the temple of Paphos is represented very much as it is upon coins (*Salaminia*, p. 59).

very well be Phœnician also (Fig. 355).[1] Chevrons like those we see here occur on many Phœnician objects. Finally, the well-designed leg of a horse (or ox) in bronze was found in the same hiding place (Fig. 356). It is, no doubt, the fragment of some throne like those encountered in Assyria. General di Cesnola believes that he found all the principal pieces, but he has made no attempt to restore the object as a whole. He only speaks of bulls' heads with eyes of enamel, of large lions' heads, of antelopes and lions' paws, &c.[2]

During her long prosperity Phœnicia made use of most metals. We have seen what she did with gold and silver; she also understood the various uses of lead;[3] iron is alluded to twice over by Ezekiel as among the merchandise she dealt in,[4] while an *iron-founder* is mentioned in a Phœnician inscription in Cyprus.[5] But,



FIG. 355.—Tripod. New York Museum.

after all, bronze was the chief metal on which her skill and industry were lavished. The Phœnicians were not the first to discover the virtues of the precious alloy of tin and copper. Egypt and Chaldæa understood the making and the use of bronze long before Tyre and Sidon had risen into importance. It was not by the Phœnicians that the first supplies of tin were brought, perhaps from the centre of Asia, to the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates; caravans travelled over that route from a very

[1] In GRIFI'S *Monumenti di Cere antica*, plates v. and vi., articles of furniture in bronze, such as cauldrons and tripods, are figured, which, in style, greatly resemble the things we are describing. One of the most remarkable things among them is a cauldron with two handles, in the shape of griffins' heads, of very good style.

[2] CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, p. 335.

[3] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 12.

[4] *Ibid.* xxvii. 12 and 19.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars. i. No. 67.

remote antiquity ; but they nevertheless deserved well of civilisation by discovering fresh deposits of the metal, and by exploring the quicker and surer high-road of the sea. From the time that they first began to navigate the western Mediterranean, nearly all the tin used in the ancient world—and we know how great the consumption of bronze must have been—was supplied by them. They began with the deposits of Etruria, and afterwards they

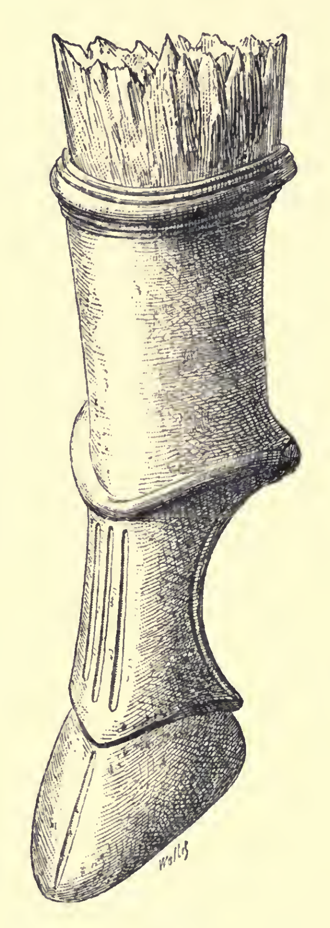


FIG. 356.—Bronze foot, from a piece of furniture. New York Museum.

went in succession to Spain, to the mouths of the Loire, the Charente, and the rivers of Brittany, and finally to the Cassiterides —the Scilly islands and south-western point of Cornwall.[1]

[1] A pig of tin has been found in England of quite a different shape from those now used. It has been called Phœnician, but there is no mark or other evidence of that kind to support the ascription. See RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, 3rd edition, p. 504.

§ 7.—*Weapons.*

The Phœnicians were great workers in bronze as well as agents for the supply of its ingredients to others.[1] We have already described their engraved cups, their domestic vessels and furniture; we have yet to speak of another industry which they followed with taste and success down to a very late period, namely, that of the armourer. In spite of their own love of peace and horror of fighting they enjoyed for centuries the reputation of being the best makers of weapons and defensive armour. In the time of Homer their fame in that respect was firmly established. After the armour of Achilles, which was the work of a god, the most beautiful and most impenetrable suit worn before the walls of Troy was that of Agamemnon. One of the most important of the pieces, the cuirass, was, as Homer tells us, a present from Kinyras,[2] who stood in Greek tradition for the Phœnician element in the Cypriot population. Many centuries later it was a king of Kition who gave Alexander the sword which he preferred to all others and carried on to the field of Arbela.[3] One of his successors, Demetrius Poliorcetes, had two cuirasses which were looked upon as masterpieces of the Cypriot armourers who made them.[4] The Phœnicians contrived to give a very fine temper to bronze, and their razors must have had as good a name as their swords.[5]

Many objects in bronze have been found in Cyprus which give an idea of the habits of the Cypriot workman. Thus, in a narrow plain, near Dali, where the remains of several tumuli, erected perhaps after a battle, may be seen, several weapons were found in the year 1850; they are now divided between the Louvre and the *Bibliothèque nationale*. They were found at the same time and place as the long inscription with an agreement between a doctor,

[1] Homer calls Sidon πολύχαλκος, *rich in bronze* (*Odyssey*, xv. 425).

[2] *Ibid. Iliad*, xi. 19-28.

[3] PLUTARCH, *Life of Alexander*, xxxii.

[4] *Ibid. Life of Demetrius*, xxi. 2.

[5] Bronze razors have been found in those Sardinian tombs from which Phœnician texts were taken (A. CARA, *Nota delle iscrizioni fenicie sopra monumenti della Sardegna*, p. 11)

Onasilos, and the town of Idalion.[1] One of the most curious pieces is a cheek-piece from a helmet, with a griffin figured upon it ; the animal has one fore-paw raised and laid upon a large

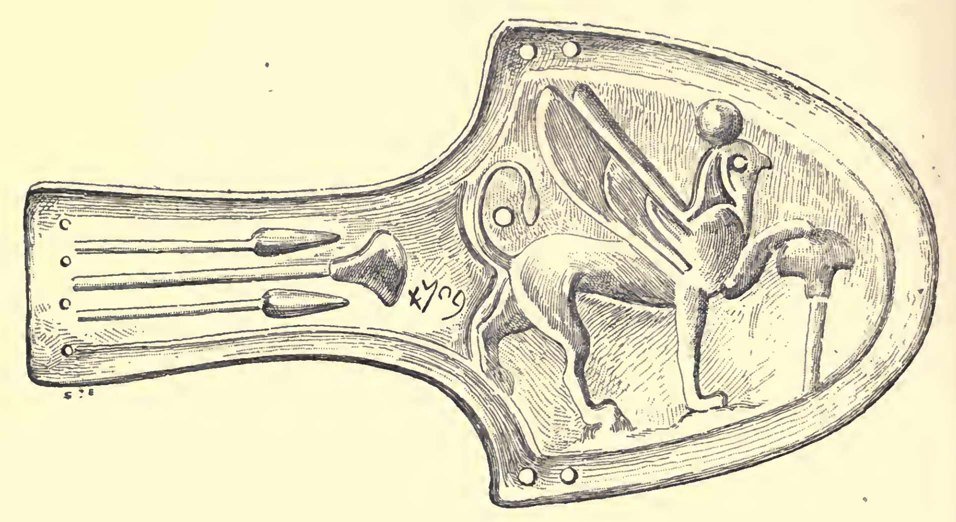


FIG. 357.—Cheek-piece, from a bronze helmet. Length 6⅛ inches. French National Library.

flower (Fig. 357). A similar flower appears between two lances on the narrow part of the fragment. Just behind the griffin there

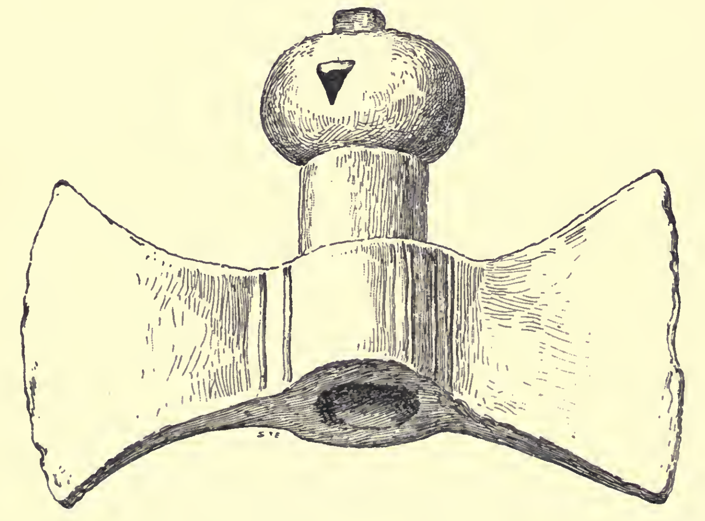


FIG. 358.—Double axe. Extreme width 6 inches. French National Library.

is an inscription of four Phœnician letters. In the same group of objects there is the knob of a mace or head of a chariot pole

[1] DE LUYNES, *Numismatique et inscriptions cypriotes*, pp. 39 and 49.

(Fig. 71), as well as several arrow-heads and two axes; one of the latter is double (Fig. 358) and ends in a large ball which could serve on occasion as a mace. The other axe is much simpler; it is shaped like a prehistoric celt (Fig. 359). These fragments had already entered the cabinet of the Duc de Luynes when M. Guillaume Rey brought back to France some remains of a shield that had belonged to the same find (Fig. 360). Thanks to its circular shape it can be easily restored. Its decoration is entirely geometrical, and so is that of a buckler found at Cære, in Etruria, in a tomb which has yielded many Phœnician cups and



FIG. 359.—Axe. Length 6 inches. French National Library.

bowls. The workmanship is very careful, but the whole decoration consists of elementary combinations of straight and curved lines. Upon another example of the same size the ornament is slightly more complicated (Fig. 362). The same rosette occupies the centre, but on several of the bands there are running bulls, and, on one, lotus flowers. In minor things, too, this shield is rather more elaborate than the other. At the outer edge runs a cable pattern which is repeated in exactly the same place in a more artistic shield from Cyprus (Fig. 363). This latter comes from the tomb at Amathus in which the patera figured above (Fig. 271) was found. On that platter a shield like this

occurs; it is held above his head by one of the soldiers who assault the fortress on the left. The shield itself has suffered much; it has lost, for instance, the larger part of its very salient boss; but this our draughtsman has been able to restore with the help of the engraving on the patera. The motives of the decoration are all familiar.

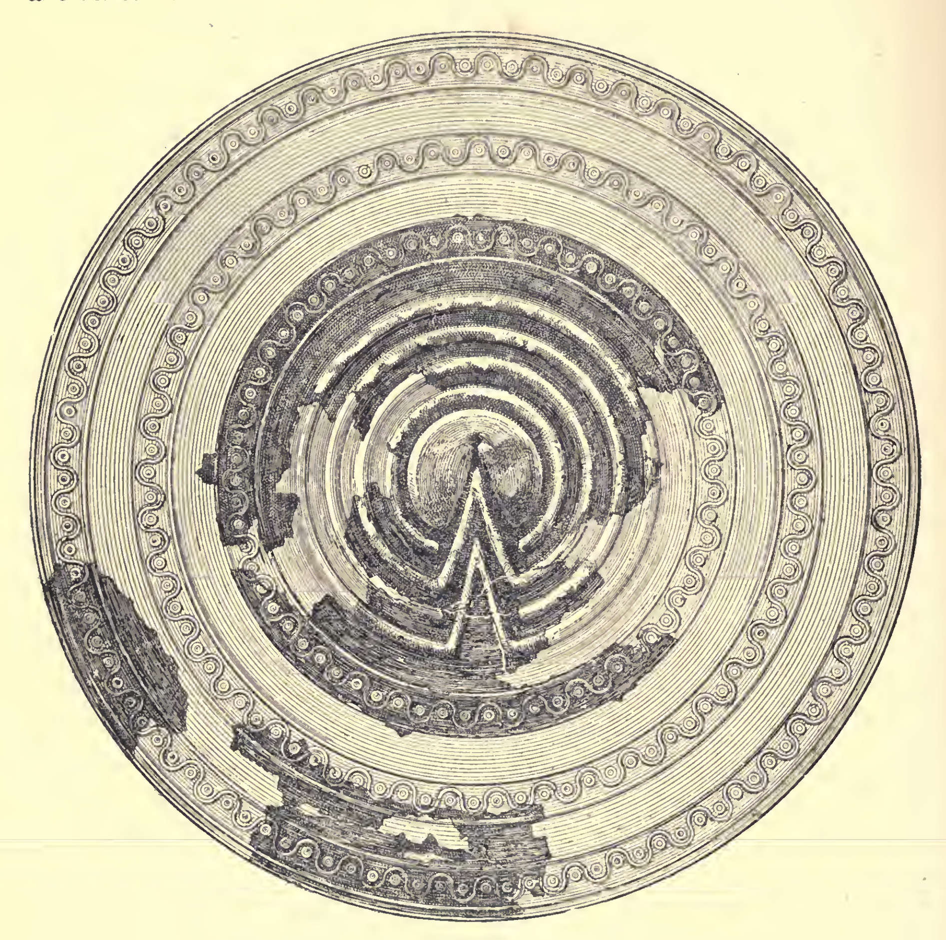
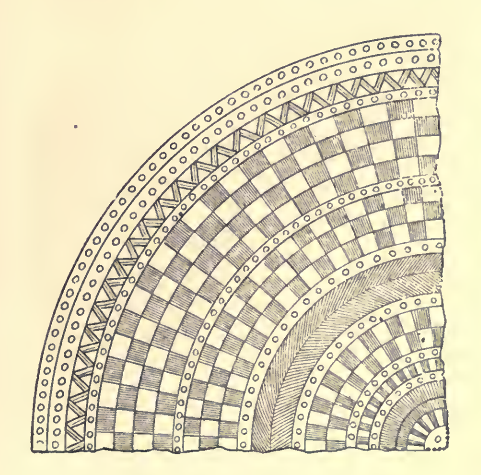


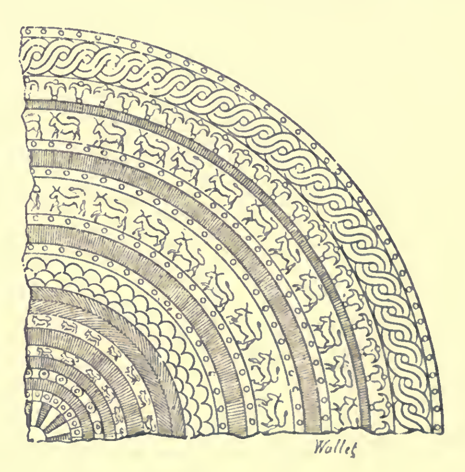
FIG. 360.—Buckler. Diameter 33½ inches. Louvre.

Lions and bulls were favourite subjects with the ornamental armourer. We have already encountered them on an Assyrian shield in the British Museum; we find them also in Etruria, upon fragments which seem, from their style, to be of Phœnician origin. Thus, in the hall of Etruscan bronzes at the British Museum, we find two large bucklers, the *provenance* of which, though not accurately known, was most likely Tuscany. Of one the ornament

is entirely geometrical, in the other it is more purely Oriental. The zones into which the surface of the latter is divided, display a great variety of motives ; lions' masks ; lions passant, one with the leg of a man or an animal in its mouth ; a double palmette opening like a fan, with slender sphinxes on each side of it, their feet like those of the animals on Polledrara eggs (Fig. 352). In the same hall some wide bands of bronze with lions and bulls upon them are exhibited. These bands may once have formed part of a shield of which the real resisting power was furnished by a backing of wood and leather. The metal of the Amathus buckler is less than a millimetre thick.[1]

We have direct proof that these bronze strips covered with *repoussé* ornament were a regular article of commerce, sold by





FIGS. 361, 362.—Bucklers. Diameter 32 inches.[2]

weight or measure, and ready for any use to which the buyer might desire to put them. One of the things found in the Polledrara tomb affords clear evidence of this. It is a very curious idol.[3] The cylindrical base is not of the same bronze as the body of the figure ; the latter may have been made in Etruria, while the base was most likely made up of strips bought from Phœnician merchants. On these strips a skilful hand has figured some fantastic animals and a chariot race. It is certain that the

[1] At four points on the metal of this buckler there are a couple of holes a short distance apart. They must have been used to fix the bronze on its backing of wood.

[2] From GRIFI, *Monumenti di Cere*, plate xi.

[3] MICALI, *Monumenti inediti*. plate vi.

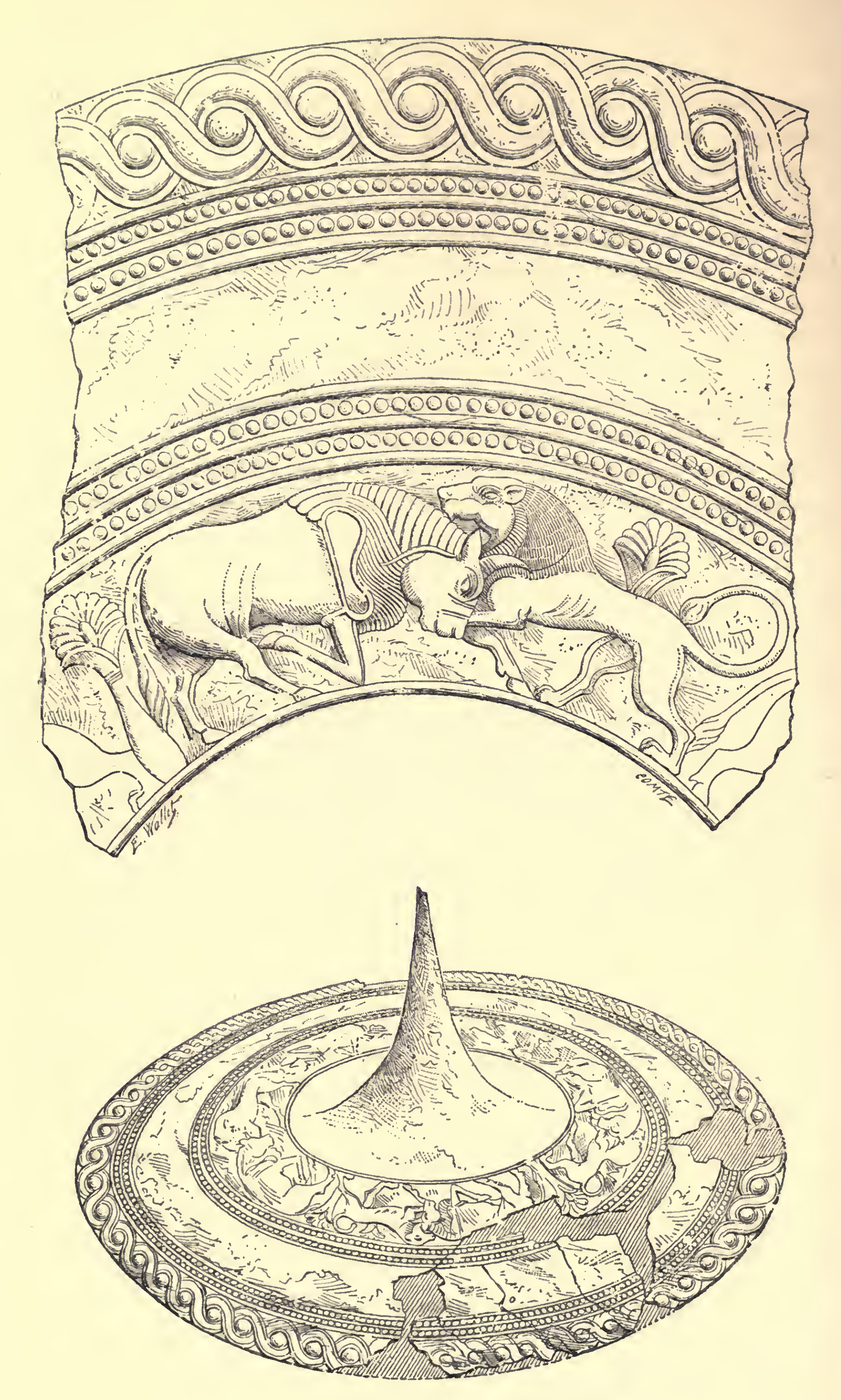


Fig. 363.—Buckler from Amathus. From Ceccaldi.

strips were never intended for the purpose to which they have here been put, for one of them is cut in such a way as to divide a driver from his horses.[1]

We have of course been unable to notice everything, but we have dwelt at some length upon these objects from Tuscany, with their Eastern physiognomy, in order to give some idea of the importance acquired by the Phœnician trade in arms. Defensive armour was, as a rule, of bronze ; that metal was more ductile than any other that could be used, and more easily ornamented. We know, however, that the Cypriot cuirasses of Demetrius Poliorcetes were of iron.[2] So that the skilful artisans of Cyprus must soon have recognized that the latter material was the best for arms of offence, and we know as a fact that they did so, for an iron sword two feet long was found at Amathus, in the same tomb as the shield so often mentioned ; it was accompanied by several javelin points in the same metal.[3]

None of the pieces we have described are very ancient. Scholars are agreed in assigning the tablet of Dali to the first years of the fifth century B. C., and the arms found in the same place cannot be much older. It is likely that the importation of Phœnician armour and weapons into Italy did not begin before the eighth century, as for the arms borne by the heroes of Homer, they must be sought neither in Italy nor in Cyprus, but in Mycæne itself, in the very capital of that Agamemnon who wore a Cypriot cuirass. We should be willing to recognize the hand of an Oriental workman in most at least of the swords discovered there by Dr. Schliemann and disengaged from their crust by Mr. Koumanoudis ; on several among them, designs formed by slender threads of some other metal—gold, silver, or electrum—inlaid in the bronze, may yet be traced.[4] It was our first intention to figure and describe these precious remains in this chapter ; but on second thoughts, their proper place seemed to be in the pages which we propose to

[1] In the cistæ from Præneste there is more than one instance of this kind of carelessness. People are sometimes cut in two at the waist. FERNIQUE, *Étude sur Préneste*, pp. 146, 147 (8vo, 1880), in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome.*

[2] PLUTARCH, *Demetrius*, xxi. 2.

[3] CECCALDI, *Monuments antiques de Cypre*, p. 138.

[4] Αθήναιον, vol. ix. p. 162, and vol. x. p. 309 (with plate). *Mittheilungen des deutschen archæologischen Instituts in Athen*, vol. vii. p. 241 ; KOEHLER, *Mykenische Schwerter* (plate viii.).

dedicate to a careful study of the Mycænian civilization as a whole. We are, then, at present content with pointing to the monuments in question, so that we may not seem to ignore their existence.

§ 8.—*Textiles.*

In all countries possessing a vast industry and a wide foreign trade there are few things that go farther or bring in more profit than woven fabrics. European manufacturers, and especially those of England, send their cotton stuffs over all the four quarters of the world; they deliver them at so low a price, even in the most distant markets, that the local industry cannot complete with them; so that wherever the latter is not dead it is moribund. In antiquity the conditions were different; the old Oriental civilization did not have the same crushing superiority over the rest of humanity. There was no machinery. The loom used by the weavers of Egypt, Chaldæa, or Phœnicia hardly differed from those in the tent of the nomad or in the hut of the mountaineer. When the relations between Phœnicia and the western tribes began the latter already understood how to weave, so that Tyre and Sidon could hardly hope to dress the outer world in the stuffs they made or imported from Egypt and Mesopotamia,[1] but they might fairly aspire to furnish it with its more elaborate tissues. And, in fact, both among the nations immediately about them and those beyond seas they had the monopoly of the trade in rich hangings, carpets, and dress stuffs.

The value of such things depended on various qualities. The muslins of Egypt were famous for their softness, whiteness and transparency, the carpets woven by the women of the poorer Asiatic tribes, were sought then as now for their warmth and for the capricious beauty of their designs.

Carthage, too, exported carpets and embroidered cushions.[2] But the most highly esteemed of all were, perhaps, the stuffs embroidered by the agile needles of those Sidonian slaves whose skill is praised in the Homeric poems.[3] With threads of gold, or

[1] See EZEKIEL, chapter xxvii. verses 7, 16, 18, 20.

[2] These carpets and cushions were imported into Athens in the fifth century (ATHENÆUS, *Hermippos*, i. 49).

[3] Ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυῖα, *Odyssey*, xv. 417. In the *Iliad* (vi. 289) Homer speaks of the πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, worked by the women of Sidon, which Paris took with him on

of a colour contrasting with that of the ground, they draw fantastic beasts of every kind."[1] The decoration was, no doubt, on the same principle as the ornament on the metal cups, on armour and on ivory carvings. There would be the same division into parallel bands, the same choice of motives ; the only differences would be in the material and the implement. In the *Suppliants* of Æschylus the daughters of Danaos disembark with their father and present themselves before Pelasgos. He asks them which is their native country. As descendants of Io they call themselves Argives, but Pelasgos, struck by the appearance of their robes, answers : "You look more like women of Libya than like country-women of mine ; that plant is nourished by the Nile, and the Cypriot style of your feminine adornments shows plainly that they were woven by men."[2] The plant to which the king alluded can only have been the Egyptian plant *par excellence*, the lotus, whose flowers and buds must have been embroidered upon the robes in which the actors who represented the daughters of Danaos were dressed. As for the weaving of stuffs by men, that was an Egyptian custom which astonished the Greeks by its novelty.[3] Thus, to Æschylus, "the Cypriot style *κύπριος χαρακτήρ* was almost synonymous with the style of Egypt." He spoke the language of his time. Many of those who listened to his verse had been to Cyprus ; many had served on its coasts with Cimon, at the end of the second Medic war ; they had noticed these resemblances, and, for them all, the Cypriot style was closely related to that of Egypt. What the poet said about Cypriot textiles must also have applied to those of Phœnicia proper, for after the futile revolt of Ionia, Cyprus had become attached to the Achæmenid empire with stronger links than ever.

Phœnician tissues were still more famous for their colour than for their weaving or the richness of their embroidered work. Tyre and Sidon owed a very large part of their prosperity to a dye of which they had the practical monopoly ; their two great

the journey which ended with the abduction of Helen. Ποικίλλω means, as a rule, to embroider with the needle, *acu pingere*, as the Latins called it. It would be difficult to see how the figures that cover such things as the robes of the Assyrian kings could be woven in with the loom in use by the ancients ; with the needle, however, they would be comparatively easy, that is, they would require only skill and patience.

[1] PHILOSTRATUS, *Icones*, ii. 31.

[2] ÆSCHYLUS, *Suppliants*, verses 279-284.

[3] HERODOTUS, ii. 35. SOPHOCLES, *Œdipus Coloneus*, 337-340, and the Scoliasts.

industries, in fact, were glass-making and purple-dyeing; of these they were the great practitioners down to the time of the Roman Empire.[1]

To have some idea of the profits drawn from this industry it is sufficient to recall the often quoted text of Theopompus, according to which the colouring matter in question was worth its weight in silver.[2]

The invention of this dye was ascribed to Melkart himself.[3] But no god was required to make such a discovery; its real author was some humble boatman whose name was soon forgotten. The famous dye was extracted from several kinds of shells found on the Syrian coast. Some boatman of Sidon may have noticed that after death, the little beings by which the shells were inhabited took on a strong purple colour, and that on rubbing their bodies against a piece of linen a brilliant tint was communicated, which would resist both wet and sunlight.[4] He would repeat the experiment with similar results; others would learn the secret thus accidentally brought to light, and in time the process would be systematized, and the resulting stuffs would become popular, first with the natives of the country, and then with foreign clients.[5]

Recent inquiries have established the facts that the molluscs from which these dye-stuffs were won, belonged to the *Gasteropodoi*, to the families of the *Murex* and the *Purpura*. The species chiefly used by the Phœnicians were the *murex trunculus* and the *murex brandaris* (Fig. 364), which are both plentiful in the waters of the Mediterranean.[6] The great merit and originality of the

[1] PLINY says of Tyre: "Nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio et purpura constat" (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17). Cf. STRABO, xvi. ii. 23.

[2] ATHENÆUS, xii. 54: ἰσοστάσιος γὰρ ἦν ἡ πορφύρα πρὸς ἄργυρον ἐξεταζομένη. See also PLINY'S statement of the prices in Roman money of the various qualities of purple (*Nat. Hist.* ix. 63 and 64).

[3] POLLUX, i. 45. The myth must have been borrowed from the Phœnicians by the Greeks. Pollux speaks of Hercules, but Hercules at Tyre was Melkart.

[4] See the interesting *Mémoire sur la pourpre* of M. LACAZE-DUTHIERS (*Annales des Sciences naturelles, Zoologie*, 4th series, vol. xii., 84 pages and a plate); and M. LORTET (*La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 127).

[5] Upon the different colours extracted by the Phœnicians, see PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* 62-64.

[6] M. LACAZE-DUTHIERS (§ 12 of his *Mémoire*) also mentions the *Murex erinaceus*. Among the *Purpuræ* those which were used for dyeing were the *Purpura hæmastoma* and the *Lapillus*. For the anatomy of these molluscs, and the constitution of the apparatus by which the colouring principle was secreted, see the same *Mémoire* and its accompanying figures.

dyes taken from them lay in the fact that they were rendered more brilliant by exposure to sunlight instead of being faded by it.[1] The colouring matter is a yellowish-white while still in the body of the animal; to the materials upon which it is used it gives first a lemon-yellow tint, next a greenish-yellow, which finally passes under the influence of the sun into red or violet.[2] It is the violet tone that the Mediterranean fisherman or the experimenters of a laboratory obtain from the murex when a quite simple process is used, the other tints were the result of certain mixtures and manipulations which would, no doubt, be readily discovered, were dyers ever again to turn to the murex.[3]

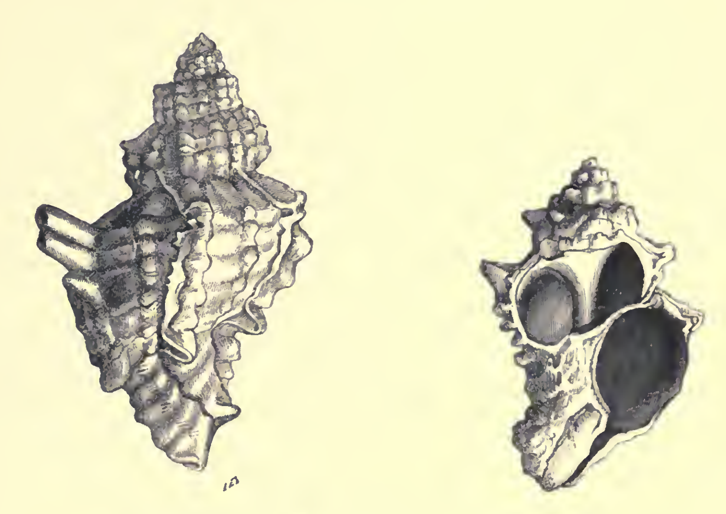


FIG. 364.—The *Murex trunculus*. From Lortet.

Such a return is not likely, however; too many shells would be required. In these days rapidity of production and cheapness are of more importance than solidity and durability, and they can only be obtained by the use of baths so large that it would be difficult to fill them with the Syrian dye. Each murex furnished a very small quantity of the colouring matter, and the Phœnician dyeworks must have used millions every year. Thus, at Sidon, on the cliff

[1] POLLUX, i. 49.

[2] LACAZE-DUTHIERS, *Mémoire*, §§ 3 and 4.

[3] Upon the way in which these molluscs were gathered, and their dyes prepared, the most important texts are those of PLINY (*Nat. Hist.* ix. 60-65) and POLLUX (i. 45-49). Upon the observed differences between the tints obtained, see LACAZE-DUTHIERS (*Mémoire*, § 12), and the specimens on paper bound up in his work, at page 83).

which rises to a height of some eighty feet above the southern harbour, the *débris* left by the dyers may still be seen. This is a bed some hundreds of yards long, and several yards deep, entirely composed of the shells of the *murex trunculus*. They have all been opened at the same point, apparently by an axe, to get out the dye.[1] It is the same at Sour, where the dyeworks were once so numerous as to spoil the town as a place to live in;[2] for the flesh of the dead murex exhaled an odour which was not exactly that of "Araby the blest."[3]

[1] LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourdhui*, p. 102. These deposits had already been pointed out by M. DE SAULCY (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 1865, vol. ii. pp. 284-286).

[2] STRABO, XVI. ii. 23.

[3] PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 60. LACAZE-DUTHIERS, *Mémoire*, p. 31. MM. LORTET and CHANTRE found deposits of the *murex brandaris* on the coasts of Attica, and on the island of Salamis. The Phœnicians must in time, as their own fisheries became exhausted, have been driven to establish dye-works and fisheries on other coasts than those of Syria; the necessity for such an expansion may, in fact, have counted for much in the development of their maritime trade.



CHAPTER VI.

THE RÔLE OF THE PHŒNICIANS IN HISTORY.

In this book on Phœnicia and the island of Cyprus we have devoted a much larger space to the discussion of the industrial arts than in the volumes which have gone before. And nothing can be easier than to justify this apparent disproportion. In the true sense of the word we can hardly say that Phœnicia had a national art. She built much and sculptured much, so we cannot say she had no art at all; but if we attempt to define it, it eludes us. Like an unstable chemical compound it dissolves into its elements, and we recognize one as Egyptian, another as Assyrian, and yet another, in its later years, as purely Greek. The only thing that the Phœnicians can claim as their own is the recipe, so to speak, for the mixture. We may point, besides, to certain special arrangements suggested by special wants, such as those which have to do with the construction of fortified inclosures and the arrangement of harbours, and a few singularities of style which are to be explained by the peculiar properties of the materials used. But these are only matters of detail; looking at it as a whole, one is tempted to conclude that the sole originality of Phœnician art lies in its want of that quality.

It was not so with industry; there Phœnicia was far superior to her neighbours; there she developed an activity and a variety of resource that compels our admiration. Often enough, no doubt, she made use of methods discovered by others; but even those she perfected and used better than her predecessors. Sometimes she opened up an entirely new industry, as in the case of the purple dyes. In the domain of art the Phœnician genius was a timid genius, it did not dare to expand its wings for an independent flight; but, on the other hand, it stopped at nothing by which its

external trade could be carried farther afield or its home manufactures improved. The Syrian merchant would dare anything for his profits. He would expatriate himself; he would visit the tribes of the Syrian desert to buy their wool; he would go beyond them and establish himself in Nineveh, Babylon, or Memphis. He would take to the sea and hold his markets on every shore to which the winds and waves would give him access; in his desire to sell the whole of any cargo with which he sailed, he would pass on step by step till he had left the confines of the known world behind him.

The epigraphic texts left us by the Phœnicians are too short and dry to give us any of those vivid glimpses into the past that the historian loves. When we wish to make the men of Tyre and Sidon live again, when we try to see them as they moved in those seven or eight centuries during which they were supreme in the Mediterranean, we have to turn to the Greeks, to Herodotus and Homer, for the details of our picture; it is in their pages that we are told how these eastern traders made themselves indispensable to the half-savage races of Europe. Their coming was at once looked forward to and dreaded; the arms and other aids to life they brought with them were desired with all the impatience of half-civilized man, while their greed for gain and their perfidy were reasons for distrust and dislike. It was notorious that they took what they had not bought, that they dealt in slaves, and that they had no scruples about carrying off a child or a young woman when they could contrive to do so either by force or fraud. They were feared and hated, but men could not do without them. They were called *πολυπαίπαλοι* "cunning men, who knew how to cheat," *ἀπατήλια εἰδότες*, "men who exploited others, who devoured," *τρῶκται*, who worked unnumbered ills to mankind.[1] It has been said truly enough that the Phœnician had many characteristics of the Jew of the Middle Ages, but he belonged to a strong race, to a race whose superiority in many respects must be recognized.

The Phœnicians carried on their trade in a leisurely way. It consisted for the most part in exchanging their manufactured wares for the natural produce of the countries they visited; it was in

[1] HOMER, *Odyssey*, xiv. 288, 289:

δὴ τότε φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἄνηρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδώς,
τρώκτης, ὃς δή πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.

conformity with the spirit of the time, and, although it inspired distrust, it was regular enough in its methods. Stories told by both Homer and Herodotus show them to us as abductors of women and children,[1] but in the then state of the world even deeds like those described would soon be forgotten, and after a time the faithless traders would be readmitted for the sake of the wares they brought. In his account of the rape of Io, Herodotus tells us that the Phœnicians had in their ship "Egyptian and Assyrian goods." This we have divined from our examination of the remains that have come down to us, but it is pleasant to find our conclusions supported by a witness like Herodotus, who must often, in the course of his long voyages about the coasts of the Mediterranean, have seen the Phœnician cargoes unpacked upon the beach.

Seeing how great their services were to the civilization of Greece and Rome, and how admirable were those virtues of industry, activity, and splendid courage that they brought to their work, how is it that the classic writers speak of the Phœnicians with so little sympathy? and why does the modern historian, in spite of his breadth and freedom from bias, find it difficult to treat them even with justice? It is because, in spite of their long relations with them, the peoples of Greece and Italy never learnt to really know the Phœnicians or to understand their language, and, to answer the second question, because our modern historians are hardly better informed. Between Greece and Rome on the one hand and Phœnicia and Carthage on the other, there was a barrier which was never beaten down. They traded and they fought, but they never concluded a lasting and cordial peace; they made no effort to comprehend each other's nature, but retained their mutual, ignorant antipathy to the very end. In later ages when all races were welded into apparent unity under the hand of Rome, the same antagonism was manifested in a different way. It was to a Semitic people that the world owed a new religion and a new literature, but from the very day that the Bible conquered its final supremacy, the West began again to hate and persecute the Shemite. Between the two races there has been from the beginning of things both constant and fertile communication and a perpetual misunderstanding; they have never been able to let each other alone and they have never agreed.

[1] HOMER, *Odyssey*, xv. 415-484; HERODOTUS, i. 1.

That full justice has never been done to the Phœnicians is partly their own fault. They were moved neither by the passion for truth nor by that for beauty; they cared only for gain, and thanks to the condition of the world at the time they entered upon the scene, they could satisfy that lust to the full. In the barter trade they carried on for so many centuries the advantage must always have been for the more civilized, and the Phœnicians used and abused that advantage. Tyre and Sidon acquired prodigious wealth; the minds of their people were exclusively occupied with the useful; they were thinking always of the immediate profit to themselves in every transaction; and to such a people the world readily denies justice, to say nothing of indulgence. But the historian must show himself more cool and more impartial. He must bring into the light the real services rendered to humanity even by the most unlovable race. No doubt it may be said that it was quite without their goodwill that the Phœnicians helped other nations to shake off barbarism and to supply themselves with the material of civilized life. That, of course, is true, but it does not diminish the importance of the results obtained through their means. Phœnicia appropriated for herself all the inventions and recipes of the old eastern civilizations and by more than one happy discovery, and especially by the invention of the alphabet, she added to the value of the treasure thus accumulated. Whether she meant it or not, she did, as a fact, devote her energies to the dissemination of all this precious knowledge from the very day on which she entered into relations with those tribes on the Grecian islands and on the continent of Europe which were as yet strangers to political life. As soon as the sail and the oar had united coasts that had previously been held apart by an impassable sea, the work of universal civilization began, and the Phœnicians were the first to touch the shores on which the ancestors of Greece and Rome were yet at the age of stone. The seamen of Tyre and Carthage, the Hannos, Himilcars, and a crowd of others whose names have long ago been forgotten, played on the narrow stage of the Mediterranean and the threshold of the Atlantic a part analogous to that of the great voyagers of later centuries, of those who discovered America and Australia, of the missionaries who have buried themselves among savage tribes, and of those indomitable explorers who are now spending their lives in laying bare the interiors of unknown continents to the civilization of modern Europe.

And our admiration of their achievements is enhanced by the feebleness of their resources. At the time of their greatest expansion, the true Phœnicians numbered, at the very most, a few hundreds of thousands. It was with such scanty numbers that they contrived to be present everywhere, to construct ports of refuge for their ships, factories for their merchants and warehouses for their goods. These "English of antiquity," as they have been so well called,[1] upheld their power by means very similar to those employed by England, who has succeeded for two centuries in holding together her vast colonial empire by a handful of soldiers and a huge fleet of ships. The great difference lies in the fact that Tyre made no attempt to subjugate and govern the nations she traded with. Carthage tried it, in Sicily, in Sardinia, and in Spain; and at first her enterprise seemed to be successful, but in the long run it brought embarrassment and ruin upon her. If she had been faithful to the policy of Tyre she might perhaps have retained the commerce of the Mediterranean in her hands for a century or two longer than she did. England has followed the policy of Tyre wherever she could. The Tyrians and Sidonians avoided conquests which might have exhausted their strength; they were content to occupy points which commanded the great commercial routes; for choice they established themselves upon islands and islets, where a stubborn defence could be offered with small means. When an island was very large, like Sicily or Sardinia, they made no effort to occupy it all. They took possession of some easily fortified peninsula or commanding hill, leaving the interior to the natives and doing their best to live amicably with them and to carry on a fruitful and pacific commerce.

At first sight it is difficult to understand how a trading people like this should have failed to invent money, but a moment's reflection will show that their failure was natural enough. The kind of traffic they carried on did not require it; neither Egypt nor Chaldæa, to whom their early commerce was restricted, made use of money, and as for more distant and far less civilized tribes it would have been no use to offer them money if they had had it. With them it was pure barter; even the Egyptian and Babylonian fashion of valuing things by weight of gold or silver was unknown. As in modern trade on the west coast of Africa one thing was exchanged for another in the most direct and least artificial way, a

[1] G. CHARMES, *Lettres de Tunisie* (*Journal des Débats*, May 4th, 1882).

process which gave enormous profits to the more civilized party to a bargain.

The habit of many centuries must have made the Phœnicians tenacious of such a mode of dealing, but as time passed on, they can hardly have failed to seek some surer and more convenient means of exchange; but by that time their former pupils had become their rivals, and had made a decisive step in advance. In Lydia and in Ægina they had begun to strike gold and silver money; the Phœnicians were not slow to avail themselves of so convenient an invention, and from the beginning of the sixth century the towns of Syria and Cyprus had coins of their own. The anomaly is then no more than an apparent one. The Phœnicians did not invent money because they could do without it; but they did invent alphabetical writing, because it was necessary to the proper "keeping of their books," which would have been next to impossible in the complex notation of Egypt or Mesopotamia.

And this invention is sufficient for their glory. So far as they themselves were concerned they made but a restricted use of it, but they transmitted it to every nation with which they trafficked. It was, as it were, one of their staple exports. In every market to which they went they took good care, as they thought, to get the better of every bargain they struck, but after all, the profit was to those with whom they dealt. For when they sailed away elated with success they left behind them the knowledge of that wonderful machine through which the Greeks were to create philosophy, history, and science; they left behind them, too, those figurines of bronze, of ivory, of glazed earthenware, and stone, and those vessels of painted clay or chiselled metal, by which the sentiment of plastic art was awakened in the race that was to produce Phidias and Praxiteles.

When we strive to get at a lively knowledge of how things passed on the shores to which the Phœnician merchant sent his cargoes, it is not without a real emotion that we see in our mind's eye the sailing of the Sidonian galley; that we watch first its timid clinging to the coast and its quick rush for the nearest haven at the least sign of dirty weather; then its braver transit across some narrow sea, to Rhodes perhaps, or Cyprus; and finally, when courage and skill are mature, its bold attack of the open water, its stubborn battling with the contrary winds of Hadria, and its

arrival at last at some distant port of Italy or Sicily. In our hearts we echo the prayers and thanksgivings of the sailors who do homage to Melkart as soon as their keels grate upon the sands after their long and perilous navigation.

Melkart was not, like Heracles his successor, transfigured and immortalized by poetry and art; he was neither begotten by Zeus in the light of the morning, nor did he die upon Ossa in the splendours of the setting sun; but how well he earned the incense that smoked upon his altars and the blood with which they were bathed! What thousands of ships ploughed the Mediterranean and more distant seas through their confidence in him! Without the Syrian god how much slower the spread of civilization might have been, and how different its paths! Who can say how much longer the fathers of the Greeks and Romans might have lingered in the barbarism which prevailed in the valleys of the Rhine and Danube down even to our own era?

Melkart deserves better of humanity than Heracles. What were the Hydra and the Nemæan lion to the storms which played with the frail Phœnician ships as the winds play with a dead leaf! If there had been sculptors of genius to carve his statues and poets to sing his exploits, he would neither have merged in his Greek successor, nor would he have failed of his true meed of gratitude from modern humanity.

O Sacer et magnus vatum labor, omnia fato
Eripis, et populis donas mortalibus ævum!





APPENDIX.



APPENDIX

VOL. I.

Fig. 73; *for* "alabaster," *read* "white marble."
" 76 " " " " "

Page 234.—Note 1. The publication of the *Bullettino* has been recommenced under the editorship of S. Ettore Pais. The year 1884 is the first of this *Serie Seconda,* which deserves our gratitude for the zeal and critical efficiency with which it is edited.

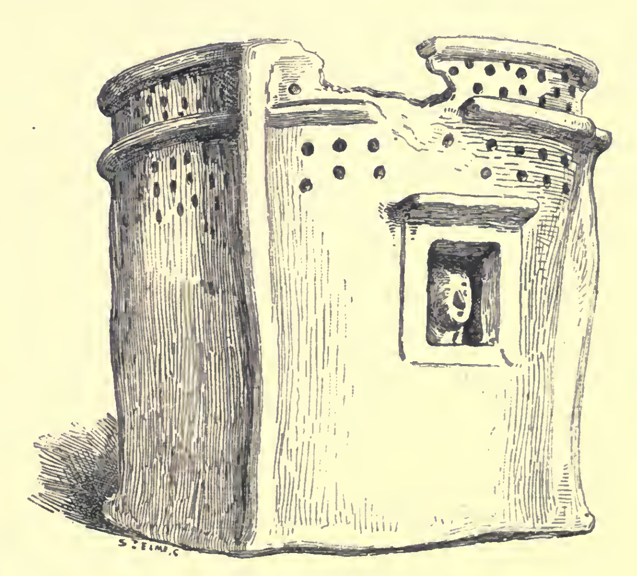


FIG. 365.—Terra-cotta model of a chapel. Louvre.

Page 287.—With the terra-cotta model reproduced in Fig. 208 of our first volume, may be compared the simpler terra-cotta chapel here reproduced (Fig. 365); here there is no porch supported by columns, as in the other example; there is nothing but a window at which one of those woman-headed birds, which the Greeks made into the Sirens, appears. The pigeon holes round the top show that this was a dove-cot inhabited by the sacred bird of Astarte.

Page 288.—See the article of M. Max. Ohnefalsch Richter, entitled: *A pre-historic building at Salamis*, (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iv., pp. 111-116, with two plates). There also the chamber encloses a spring of excellent water. Mr. Delaval Cobham, who translated Herr Richter's paper into English, tells us, in a few lines of introduction, that in the mosque known as that of *Oum-el-harem* or *Halité Sultan Teké*, on the western bank of the lagune at Larnaca, there are the remains of a similar construction. These consist of two stones supporting a third, which is of colossal dimensions. Tradition says that the three blocks travelled of themselves from Ramleh to Saffa, whence they floated by sea to the point where they now stand, there to form a fitting tomb for the foster-mother of the Prophet, who died on that spot. The sacredness of the spot and the draperies by which it is encumbered have so far prevented this little monument from being carefully compared with the others we have mentioned.

Page 293.—Judging from the brazen sea (1 Kings, vii.), M. Renan is inclined to think that these great cauldrons were meant to hold the water for the sacrifices. The movable basins of Solomon, mounted on wheels, prove that a large quantity of water was consumed in the Semitic temples and that it was carried about as occasion required.

Page 352.—In the matter of the harbours and fortifications of Carthage, the posthumous work of M. CHARLES TISSOT will hereafter have to be consulted by every student (*Géographie comparée de la province d'Afrique*, vol. i., 4to, Paris, 1884). Chapter V. of the second part is headed *Topographie de Carthage*. It gives a plan compiled from the researches of Falke and Daux; the data gathered by Daux on the site of Carthage had never before been published. M. Tissot had at his disposal the map for which Daux obtained the materials by two successive explorations. As we have made liberal use of Daux's book in our pages on Carthage, Utica and Thapsus, and as that explorer has sometimes been severely criticised, it is perhaps well that we should here quote what is said of Daux and his work by a scholar so exacting in the matter of accuracy as M. Tissot (*Géographie comparée*, &c., vol. i. p. 576, note 2); "Daux has often told me (and his statements are confirmed from other sources) he was able to follow each enceinte course by course, clearing the walls down to the foundations, but according to the terms of his permit putting everything back into *statu quo* as he went along. But the walls he discovered soon afterwards began to be used as quarries, and before any long time had passed, he had the chagrin to see hollows take the place of the lines he had bared in relief. . . . . . I should add that in all technical questions complete confidence should be felt in Daux. The map in which all his data are brought together must be looked upon as an original document of the greatest worth, a document the value of which has been immeasurably enhanced by the fact that seekers for building materials have caused so much of what he saw to finally disappear."

Page 386.—Note 5. On the question of Syrian topography the work of M. J. DE BERTON may be consulted with advantage; it is entitled: *La Topographie de Tyr d'après les derniers explorateurs* (in the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions par divers savants*, first series, vol. ix., second part, pp. 275-309).

VOL. II.

Page 35.—There seems to be no longer any doubt as to the Sardinian origin of this bronze. It is only on figurines from that island that the peculiar dagger-shaped object it wears on its breast is to be found.

Page 52, line 4 from foot, *for* Vol. i. Fig. 142, *read* Fig. 47. Line 3, *for* Ib. Fig. 223, *read* Vol. i. Fig. 142.



FIG. 366.—Terra-cotta mask, front face. Height 4½ inches.

Page 68.—With the mask in the Louvre we may compare a terra-cotta mask found by M. Salomon Reinach (Figs. 366-367). It was found at a depth of about twelve feet, in a reservoir, in a trench cut between Byrsa and the site of the military port. It is neither so firm in execution nor so well preserved as the other specimen, but it seems to be Carthaginian also and to belong to the same class of works. In its dryness and hardness it recalls in the most striking way the female head figured on the large electrum coins of Carthage. M. Reinach was good enough to send us a photograph of the mask directly after its discovery, but our chapter on Phœnician

sculpture was already printed; the remains of that art are, however, so scanty that we could not sacrifice one, so we reproduce it here. M. Reinach's report on the explorations made at Carthage in the spring of 1884, in conjunction with M. Babelon, was read before the *Académie des Inscriptions* last October. The objects found have been divided between the Louvre and the National Library.

Page 93.—Mr. Sayce believes the Cypriot alphabet to be derived from the Hittite hieroglyphs, and the evidence he brings forward gives a certain probability to such a belief. (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v., p. 31.)

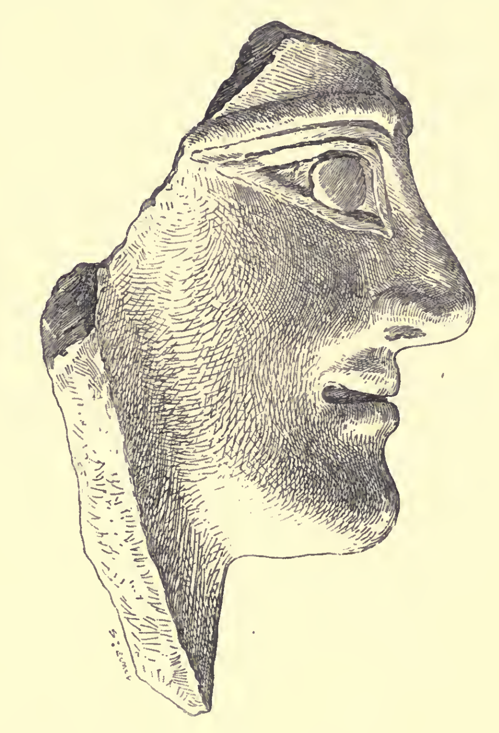


FIG. 367.—Terra-cotta mask, profile. Height $4\frac{4}{5}$ inches.

Page 123.—Just as the last sheets of this volume are on their way to press, we hear of the publication of vol. i. of Cesnola's great work, of which the following is the exact title: *A descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;* by Louis P. di Cesnola, LL.D., Director of the Museum. With an Introduction by Ernst Curtius, of Berlin. 3 vols. Boston, J. B. Osgood & Co. (a large folio; price 150 dollars).

Page 142.—On the question as to the sex of the figures dressed in drawers widely open in front, General di Cesnola writes to us: "I am not of your opinion on this matter, and for this reason: the drawers now worn by Cypriote women have no buttons at all, but are gathered about the

waist with a long cord, and something of the same nature is to be seen on the statue you have reproduced. The resemblance often struck me when I saw my own servants' linen hung out to dry in the court-yard of my house at Larnaca" (Letter dated 13th August, 1884).

Page 148.—*Apropos* of what we say as to the statuettes and potteries from Alambra, General di Cesnola tells us that, with the exception of a few objects stolen by his workmen, everything he found in the tombs of the small hill, described at p. 95 of *Cyprus*, now belongs to the New York collection; but he admits that other very ancient tombs were found at Alambra. Now we do not believe that there is any sensible difference between the things from these tombs and those from the excavations made by Cesnola himself. Moreover a certain number of things found by him at this point were sold in Paris before he began his negotiations with the



FIG. 368.—Limestone statuette. Height 11½ inches.

United States. It was at those sales that M. Albert Barre obtained many of the curious things in his collection.

Page 179, *et seq.*—One of the few votive figures with an inscription was found at Salamis by M. Alexandre di Cesnola (*Salaminia*, p. 91). It has a Greek inscription in Cypriote letters engraved vertically on the front of its robe (Fig. 368). This is transcribed both by Dr. Birch and Mr. Sayce as follows: Μοισίδημος κατάστησέ με. It is, therefore, a votive offering.

Page 205.—In title to cut, *for* "frog," *read* "hawk." This mistake arose through the defects of the photograph sent to me by General di Cesnola.

Page 208.—Title to Fig. 139; *for* "marble," *read* "limestone"; (note by General di Cesnola).

Pages 268-9.—These two disks of terra-cotta may have been moulds for stamping cakes ; the material is not hard enough for the stamping of trinkets.

Page 439.—The ancients were not strangers to the idea of conventional money ; at Carthage they seem to have had a leather coinage. The most important text on the matter is the passage in the Socratean *Æschines*, (p. 78, ed. Fischer,) which may be thus translated : "We must, said Socrates, consider the value of silver . . . . . They, the Carthaginians, made use of money like this ; in a small piece of leather they wrapped something the size of a stater, but what that something was none but the makers knew, a seal was stamped upon the leather which thereupon circulated like a metal coin. He who had most of such things was looked upon as having most silver and being the richest, but with us, however many a man might have, he would be no richer than if he had so many pebbles." The text is not very clear ; we can see that the Greek author did not very well understand the matter himself. Something of the kind must have existed at Carthage, but it is very likely that the idea of making use of such a means of exchange only occurred to its people after the Greeks had taught the Phœnicians how great the convenience of money might be.



INDEX.



INDEX.

B.

I.

Q.

R.

S.

T.

U.

V.

W.

Z.

THE END.

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